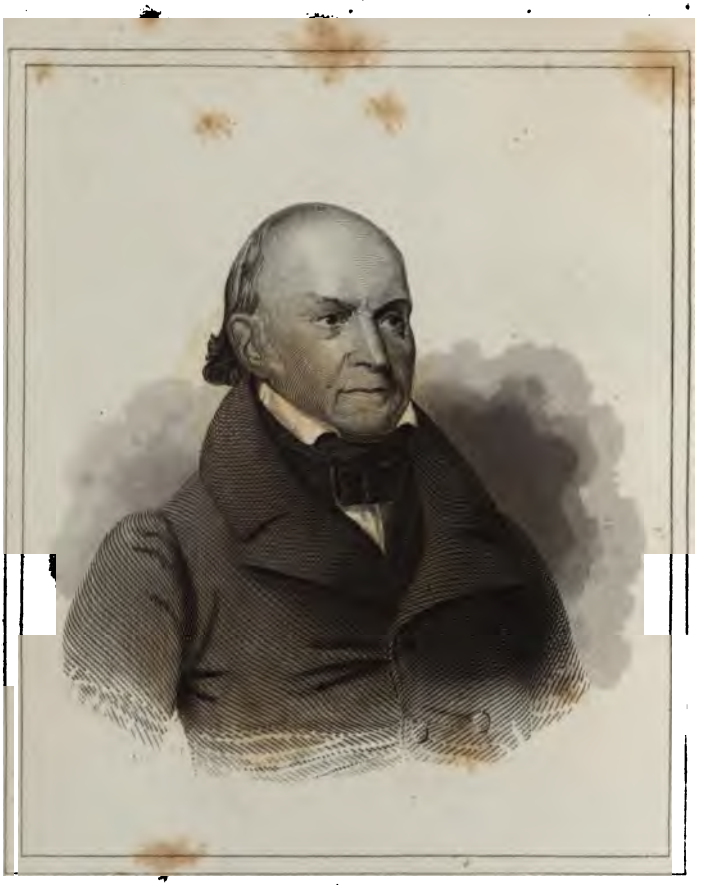
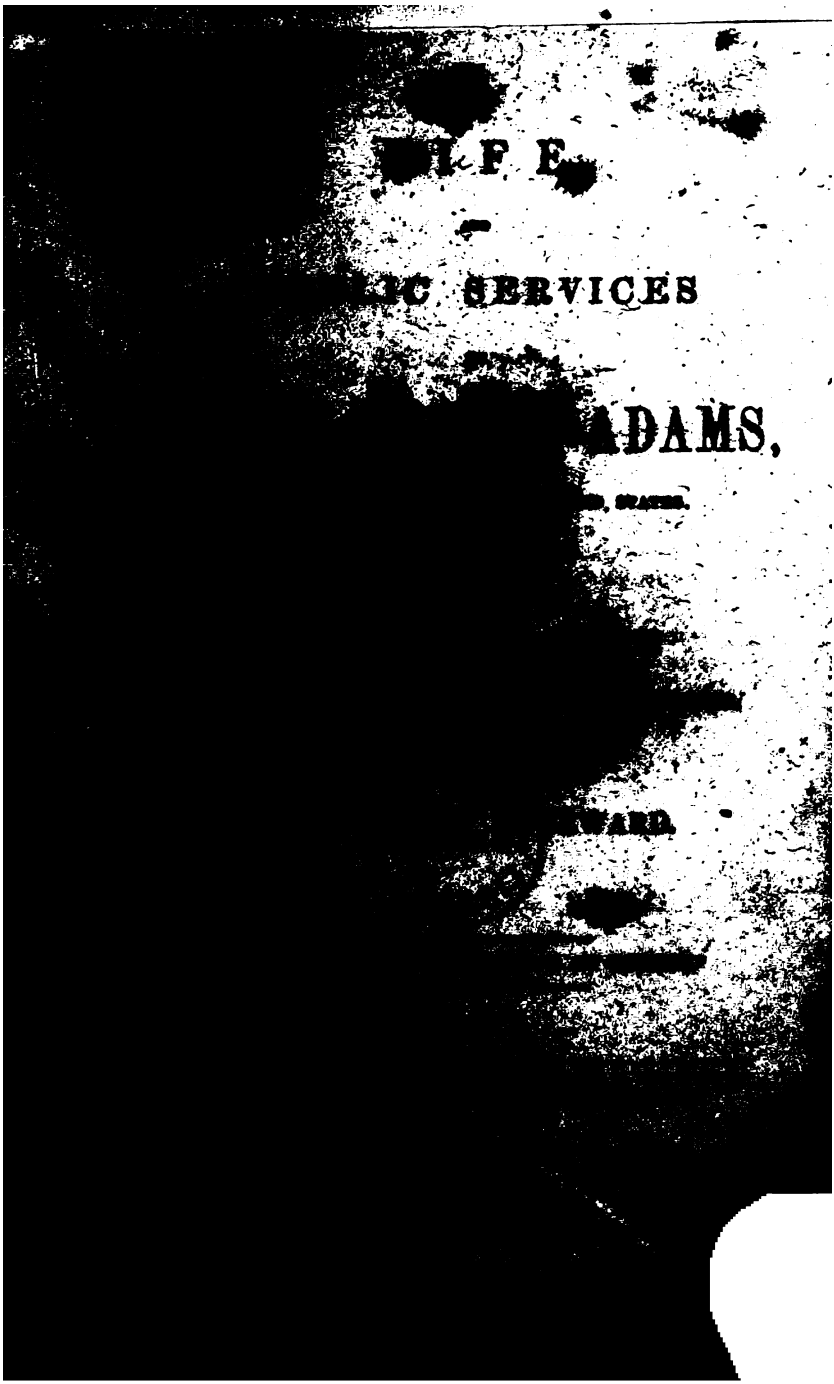


Engraved from a Painting by A.B. Durand.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

2. Adams


F E
IC SERVICES
ADAMS,

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

LIFE,

AND

PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS,

[illegible] OF THE UNITED STATES.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] LEGISLATURE OF NEW YORK.

[illegible] SEWARD.

"[illegible] I AM CONTENT."

STEREOTYPED BY THOMAS B. SMITH,
216 WILLIAM STREET, N. Y.

ADVE[illegible]

The Publishers a[illegible] the [illegible]
[illegible] which was [illegible]
[illegible] OF EQUAL LIBERTY
[illegible] HUMAN RIGHTS
[illegible] which h[illegible]
[illegible] THE WORLD,
[illegible] Volume
[illegible] MOURNED.
[illegible] confidently believe, that [illegible]
[illegible] a faithful and important [illegible]
[illegible] Old New Eloquent," and [illegible]
[illegible] every friend of liberty

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE PUBLISHERS apologize for the delay in issuing [illegible], which was announced by them as in [illegible] year since, shortly after the de- [illegible] subject. Gov. Seward, in [illegible] was well aware of the [illegible] his professional duties re- [illegible] for relaxation from his [illegible] in the hope that he [illegible] the work commenced by [illegible] necessary for its timely [illegible] assistance of an able [illegible] completed the [illegible] believe, that it will [illegible] and impartial [illegible] and [illegible] of liberty [illegible] expressed [illegible] work of this de- [illegible] by his

PREFACE.

[illegible] are humble. For more [illegible] Quincy Adams had occu- [illegible] position before the American people, [illegible] country's history. His [illegible] old age. He out- [illegible] his party [illegible] principles of action [illegible] the rights of man [illegible] Old Elm [illegible] perused the senti- [illegible] by the press [illegible] Continent. [illegible] impressed [illegible] of this de- [illegible] by his

yond the reach of the great mass of readers. In view of these circumstances, there was an evident want of a volume of more limited compass—a book which would come within the means of the people generally,—and adapted not only for libraries, and the higher classes of society, but would find its way into the midst of those moving in the humbler walks of life. To supply this want, the present work has been prepared. The endeavor has been made to compress within a brief compass, the principal events of the life of Mr. Adams, and the scenes in which he participated; and to portray the leading traits of character which distinguished him from his contemporaries. It has been the aim to present such an aspect of the history and principles of this wonderful man, as shall do justice to his memory, and afford an example which the youth of America may profitably imitate in seeking for a model by which to shape their course through life. How far this end has been attained, an intelligent and candid public must determine.

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CHAPTER XIV.

THE LIFE OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

CHAPTER I.

ANCESTRY AND CHILDHOOD, OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

[illegible] of the May-Flower landed on [illegible] founded the Colony of Massa- [illegible] of December, 1620.

[illegible] founder of the Adams family in [illegible] emigration in England, [illegible] early period, but at [illegible] He erected his [illegible] present town of [illegible] WALTHAM, and is [illegible] the first [illegible] Quincy [illegible]

by JOHN ADAMS, President of the United States, and bearing this inscription:—

In Memory

OF

HENRY ADAMS,

Who took his flight from the Dragon Persecution in Devonshire, in England, and alighted with eight sons, near Mount Wollaston. One of the sons returned to England, and after taking time to explore the country, four removed to Medfield and the neighboring towns; two to Chelmsford. One only, Joseph, who lies here at his left hand, remained here, who was an original proprietor in the Township of Braintree, incorporated in the year 1639.

This stone, and several others, have been placed in this yard, by a great-great-grandson, from a veneration of the piety, humility, simplicity, prudence, patience, temperance, frugality, industry, and perseverance of his ancestors, in hopes of recommending an imitation of their virtues to their posterity.

Joseph Adams, the son of Henry Adams mentioned in the above inscription, died on the sixth of December, 1694, aged sixty-eight years. Joseph, the next in succession, died February 12th, 1736, at the age of eighty-four years. His son John Adams, was a Deacon of the Church at Quincy, and died May 25th, 1761, aged seventy years. This John Adams was the father of him who was destined to give not only undying fame to his ancient family, but a new and powerful impulse to the cause of Human Freedom throughout the world.

JOHN ADAMS, son of John Adams and Susannah

[illegible] at Quincy on the nine-
[illegible] July, 1735. He received
[illegible] University in 1755, and then,
[illegible] New England custom,
[illegible] enjoyed the benefits of a
[illegible] impart those benefits to the
[illegible] a time in teaching.

[illegible] young men in straitened
[illegible] in obtaining a profession and
[illegible] John Adams, who
[illegible] and achievement as to
[illegible] President of the United
[illegible] law under the incon-
[illegible] occupation as an entree-

[illegible] and successful lawyer,
[illegible] that his tal-
[illegible] for the courts.

tions were not rigidly enforced. At length an Order in Council was passed, which directed the officers of the customs in Massachusetts Bay, to execute the acts of trade. A question arose in the Supreme Court of that province in 1761, upon the constitutional right of the British Parliament to bind the Colonies. The trial produced great excitement. The cause was argued for the Crown by the King's Attorney-General, and against the laws by James Otis.

It will be seen that the question thus involved was the very one that was finally submitted to the arbitrament of arms in the American Revolution. The speech of Otis on the occasion, was an effort of surpassing ability. John Adams was a witness, and he recorded his opinion of it, and his opinion of the magnitude of the question, thus:

"Otis was a flame of fire! With a promptitude of classical allusion, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance of his eyes into futurity, a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE was then and there born. Every man of an unusually crowded audience, appeared to me to go away ready to take up arms against Writs of Assistance."

Speaking on the same subject, on another occasion, John Adams said that "James Otis then and there breathed into this nation the breath of life."

[illegible] who an enthusiast for [illegible]

[illegible] daughter of the Rever- [illegible] The mother of [illegible] woman of great beauty [illegible] and she combined, [illegible] of her sex, a sweet- [illegible] sympathy with the [illegible] husband.

[illegible] in contempt of the [illegible] passed the [illegible] stamped pa- [illegible] in the Colonies. [illegible] and while Patrick [illegible] Otis and [illegible] before the Governor [illegible]

to bind the Colonies, in all cases whatsoever." In the next year a law was passed, which imposed duties in the Colonies, on glass, paper, paints, and tea. The spirit of insubordination manifested itself throughout the Colonies, and, inasmuch as it radiated from Boston, British ships of war were stationed in its harbor, and two regiments of British troops were thrown in the town, to compel obedience. John Adams had now become known as the most intrepid, zealous, and indefatigable opposer of British usurpation. The Crown tried upon him in vain the royal arts so successful on the other side of the Atlantic. The Governor and Council offered him the place of Advocate General in the Court of Admiralty, an office of great value; he declined it, "decidedly, peremptorily, but respectfully."

At this interesting crisis, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was born, at Quincy, on the 11th of July, 1767. A lesson, full of instruction concerning the mingled influences of piety and patriotism in New England, at that time, is furnished to us by the education of the younger Adams. Nor can we fail to notice that each of those virtues retained its relative power over him, throughout his long and eventful life. He was brought into the church and baptized on the day after that on which he was born.

John Quincy Adams, in one of his letters, thus mentions [illegible] of his baptism:

[illegible] Wellington has a peculiar in-

[illegible] of my great-grandfather. [illegible] The incident which gave rise to [illegible] its moral to my heart. [illegible] recognized; and his daughter, [illegible] at my birth, requested that I [illegible] The fact recorded by my [illegible] associated with that portion of [illegible] sensibility and devotion [illegible] that gave the name. It was [illegible] from earth to immortality. [illegible] the strongest links of my at[illegible] of Quincy, and have been to [illegible] attention to do nothing [illegible]

[illegible] character of the per[illegible] circumstances, he [illegible] was an object of [illegible] of wealth [illegible] precious time [illegible] New-Eng[illegible] Massachu[illegible]

the citizens of Boston held a meeting in which they instructed their representatives in the Provincial Legislature to resist the usurpations of the British Government. John Adams was chairman of the committee that prepared these instructions, and his associates were Richard Dana and Joseph Warren, the same distinguished patriot who gave up his life as one of the earliest sacrifices to freedom, in the battle of Bunker Hill.

Those instructions were expressed in the bold and decided tone of John Adams, and they increased the public excitement in the province, by the earnestness with which they insisted on the removal of the British troops from Boston.

The popular irritation increased, until on the 5th of March, 1770, a collision occurred between the troops and some of the inhabitants of Boston, in which five citizens were killed, and many wounded. This was called the Bloody Massacre. The exasperated inhabitants were with difficulty restrained from retaliating this severity by an extermination of all the British troops. A public meeting was held, and a committee, of which SAMUEL ADAMS was chairman, was appointed to address the Governor (Gage), and demand that the troops should be withdrawn. John Adams described the excitement, on a later occasion, in these words:

"Not only the immense assemblies of the people from day to day, but military arrangements from night to night, were necessary to keep the people and the

[illegible] together by the ears. The life of [illegible] have been safe in any street or [illegible]. Nor would the lives of the inhab- [illegible] more secure. The whole mili- [illegible] inquisition, and military watches [illegible] placed. We were all [illegible] was exempted: our military [illegible] superiors. I had the honor to [illegible] and attended at the State [illegible] and bayonet, my broadsword [illegible] under the command of the famous [illegible]

[illegible] the troops and sent them [illegible] commanding officer and some of the [illegible] brought to trial for murder. [illegible] and leader of the exaspe- [illegible] by the Government to act [illegible] The people, in the heat [illegible] identify the lawyer with [illegible] in which [illegible] hesitate. His [illegible] of life. [illegible] the lac- [illegible]

to Great Britain and to the world a noble proof, that they had been well prepared by education for the trust of self-government.

The controversy between the Province of Massachusetts and the British Government continued, and the exasperation of the Colonies became more intense, until the destruction of the imported tea in the harbor, in December, 1773, incensed the Ministry so highly, that they procured an act closing the port of Boston. This act was followed by the convention of the first American Congress at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774. As John Adams had been the master spirit in the agitation in Massachusetts, he was appointed one of the Delegates to the General Congress. After his election, his friend Sewall, the King's Attorney General, labored earnestly to dissuade him from accepting the appointment.

The Attorney General told the delegate that Great Britain was determined on her system, that her power was irresistible, and that he, and those with him who should persist in their designs of resistance, would be involved in ruin.

John Adams replied, "I know Great Britain has determined on her system, and that very determination determines me on mine. You know I have been constant and uniform in opposition to her measures. The die is now cast. I have passed the Rubicon. Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish with my country be my unalterable determination."

[illegible] energetic and resolute expressions which Daniel Webster wrought into so magnificent an [illegible] speech, in his glowing Eulogy on John [illegible] Jefferson.

[illegible] continued in Congress throughout the [illegible] 1775 and 1776, and on all occasions was [illegible] most fervent advocate for Independence. [illegible] George Washington was appointed [illegible] of the Army.

[illegible] the mover of Independence in the [illegible] On the 8th of May, 1776, he brought the [illegible] body, by a resolution expressed as [illegible]

[illegible] perfectly irreconcilable to [illegible], for the people of these [illegible] the oaths and affirmations necessary [illegible] only government under the [illegible] it is necessary that the [illegible] under the said [illegible] all the powers [illegible] of the [illegible] of judicial [illegible] the [illegible] against [illegible] will [illegible] God [illegible]

the happiness and safety of their constituents, and of America."

This resolution was adopted, and was followed by the appointment of a committee, on the motion of Richard Henry Lee, seconded by John Adams, to prepare a Declaration. This committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. Jefferson and Adams were a sub-committee, and the former prepared the Declaration, at the urgent request of the latter.

Jefferson bore this testimony to the ability and power of John Adams.—"The great pillar of support to the Declaration of Independence, and its ablest advocate and champion on the floor of the House, was John Adams."

On the day after the Declaration of Independence was adopted, he wrote the memorable letter in which he said with prophetic unction,—"Yesterday the greatest question was decided that ever was debated in America; and greater, perhaps, never was or will be decided among men. A resolution was passed without one dissenting Colony, 'That the United States are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States.' The day is passed. The fourth day of July, 1776, will be a memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as a great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn

[illegible] Almighty God. It ought to be sol-
[illegible] shows, games, sports, guns, bells,
[illegible] illuminations, from one end of the conti-
[illegible] from this time forward, forever.
[illegible] transported with enthusiasm, but I
[illegible] aware of the toil, and blood, and
[illegible] will cost to maintain this Declaration,
[illegible] these States: yet through all
[illegible] that the end is worth all the
[illegible] posterity will triumph, although you
[illegible] I hope we shall not."

[illegible] November 1777, John Adams
[illegible] in public duties in Congress,
[illegible] body; and during its recess,
[illegible] State Council in Massachusetts.
[illegible] John Quincy was instructed at
[illegible] after years, he was accus-
[illegible] mother, who was aided
[illegible] father. EDWARD
[illegible] John Quincy Adams,
[illegible] remark, that there
[illegible] of boy-
[illegible] he wrote to his

task to keep me a studying. I own I am ashamed of myself. I have but just entered the third volume of Rollin's History, but designed to have got half through it by this time. I am determined this week to be more diligent. Mr. Thaxter is absent at Court. I have set myself a stint this week, to read the third volume half out. If I can but keep my resolution, I may again at the end of the week give a better account of myself. I wish, sir, you would give me in writing, some instructions with regard to the use of my time, and advise me how to proportion my studies and play, and I will keep them by me, and endeavor to follow them.

With the present determination of growing better, I am, dear sir, your son, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

P. S. Sir—If you will be so good as to favor me with a blank book, I will transcribe the most remarkable passages I meet with in my reading, which will serve to fix them upon my mind.

After making all just allowance for precocity of genius, we cannot but see that the early maturity of the younger Adams proves the great advantage of pure and intellectual associations in childhood.

The time soon arrived when John Quincy Adams was to enjoy advantages of education such as were never afforded to any other American youth. Among the earliest acts of the American Congress, was the appointment of Benjamin Franklin, Silas Dean, and Arthur Lee, as Commissioners to France; they were charged to solicit aid from France, and to negotiate a treaty, by which the Independence of the United States should be acknowledged by Louis Sixteenth, then at the height of his popularity. Silas Dean was recalled in 1776, and John Adams was appointed to fill his place. He embarked on this mission the 13th of February, 1778, in the frigate Boston, commanded

[illegible] John Adams had gone down to [illegible] called there to receive him on [illegible] embarkation he wrote the following [illegible] parting letter to Mrs. Adams:

[illegible] o'clock, 13 *February*, 1778.

[illegible] in this house, before I had the [illegible] and a midshipman coming for me. [illegible] and may God prosper our voyage in [illegible] the beginning, and send to you, my [illegible] choicest blessings!

[illegible] that neither absence,

[illegible] "JOHN ADAMS.

[illegible] his mamma, and his love to his [illegible] like a man."

[illegible] man!"—Words which gave [illegible] character of John Quincy Ad- [illegible] commenced: an educa- [illegible] by John Adams, [illegible] Revolution. How de- [illegible] and with what [illegible] by the [illegible] by that, to [illegible] towards

men may be trained, by early education and constant discipline, are truly sublime and astonishing.

"Newton and Locke are examples of the deep sagacity which may be acquired by long habits of thinking and study. Nay, your common mechanics and artisans are proofs of the wonderful dexterity acquired by use; a watchmaker, finishing his wheels and springs, a pin or needle-maker, &c. I think there is a particular occupation in Europe, which is called paper staining, or linen staining. A man who has long been habituated to it, shall sit for a whole day, and draw upon paper various figures, to be imprinted upon the paper for rooms, as fast as his eye can roll and his fingers move, and no two of his draughts shall be alike. The Saracens, the Knights of Malta, the army and navy in the service of the English Republic, among many others, are instances to show to what an exalted height, valor or bravery or courage may be raised, by artificial means.

"It should be your care therefore, and mine, to elevate the minds of our children, and exalt their courage, to accelerate and animate their industry and activity, to excite in them an habitual contempt of meanness, abhorrence of injustice and inhumanity, and an ambition to excel in every capacity, faculty, and virtue. If we suffer their minds to grovel and creep in infancy, they will grovel and creep all their lives.

"But their bodies must be hardened, as well as their souls exalted. Without strength, and activity and vigor of body, the brightest mental excellencies will be eclipsed and obscured.

"JOHN ADAMS."

No one can read this extraordinary letter, and compare it with the actual character of John Quincy Adams as ultimately developed, without regarding that character as a fulfilment, in all respects, of the prayers and purposes of his illustrious parent.

The voyage of the American Minister was made in a time of great peril. The naval supremacy of Great

[illegible] established. Her armed ships traversed the ocean in all directions. Captain Tucker [illegible] English ship showing a row of guns, and with the consent of the Minister, engaged her. When [illegible] with a broadside. John Adams [illegible] to retire to the cockpit, but when [illegible] he was found among the [illegible] in his hands.

[illegible] with France had been consum[illegible], before the arrival of John [illegible] event, Congress decided to have [illegible] this country, and Dr. Franklin [illegible] the appointment, John [illegible] have to return home, after [illegible] a half. During that period [illegible] a public school in Paris, [illegible] filled with the instructions [illegible] of John Adams, [illegible] intellectual per[illegible] attended. The in[illegible] shown in thus [illegible] his [illegible] [illegible] this [illegible]

progress in French, as well as in general knowledge, which, for his age, is uncommon."

John Adams now regarded his public life as closed. He wrote to Mrs. Adams:

"The Congress, I presume, expect that I should come home, and I shall come accordingly. As they have no business for me in Europe, I must contrive to get some for myself at home. Prepare yourself for removing to Boston, into the old house, for there you shall go, and I will draw writs and deeds, and harangue juries, and be happy."

This calculation was signally erroneous, as all calculations upon personal ease and peace by great and good men always are. He remained at home only three months, and during that time he had other and higher occupations than drawing writs and deeds. He was elected Delegate to the Convention charged with the responsible and novel duty of forming a written constitution for Massachusetts. In that body he labored with untiring assiduity, as in Congress; the constitution thus produced was in a great measure prepared by himself, and it is due to his memory to record the fact, that it was among the most democratic of all the constitutions which were adopted by the new States. The younger Adams having returned to America with his father, had thus the advantage of seeing republican theories brought into successful, practical application.

About this time Congress resolved on sending a

[illegible] Plenipotentiary to Great Britain, to negotiate, if possible, a treaty of peace. John Adams and John Jay, received each an equal number of votes. The result was the appointment of Mr. Jay as Minister to [illegible] and John Adams as Minister to the Court of [illegible] He was instructed to insist on the independence of the United States.

[illegible] Adams again attended the Diplomatist. [illegible] in the French frigate *La Sensible*, on [illegible] December, 1779.

[illegible] frigate springing a leak, and was obliged to put [illegible] hand, which proved to be Fer- [illegible] disembarked on the 11th of De- [illegible] intervening distance to Paris [illegible] thousand miles. This jour- [illegible] through the mountains on mules, [illegible] then in alliance with [illegible] everywhere received [illegible] The French effected at [illegible] Triple Alliance, [illegible] the French, a relative [illegible] which [illegible] the [illegible] England [illegible]

February, 1780. John Adams mentioned a singular coincidence in his letter announcing their arrival. "I have the honor to be lodged here with no less a personage than the Prince of Hesse-Cassel, who is here upon a visit. We occupy different apartments in the same house, and have no intercourse with each other, to be sure; but some wags are of opinion, that if I were authorised to open a negotiation with him, I might obtain from him as many troops to fight *on our side* of the question, as he has already hired to the English *against us!*"

The American Revolution has wrought wonderful changes since that day. No German Prince could now send a man, or a musket, to war against its principles.

John Adams soon discovered that there was no prospect of success for his mission to England. He remained at Paris until August, 1780, and during the interval his son was kept at an academy in that city.

At the expiration of that period the Minister repaired to Holland, and there received instructions to negotiate a loan, and then a treaty of amity and commerce with the states of that country. The younger Adams while in Holland was placed at school, first at Amsterdam, and afterwards in the University of Leyden.

A letter of the father, dated at Amsterdam, 18th December, 1780, gives us a glimpse of the system of instruction approved by him, and a pleasant view of the principles which he deemed it important to be inculcated.

[illegible] I have this morning sent Mr. Thaxter with my two sons to Leyden, there to take up their residence for [illegible] there to pursue their studies of Latin and Greek under the excellent masters, and there to attend lectures of the celebrated professors in that University. It is much cheaper there than here. The air is [illegible] pure, and the company and conversation [illegible] is perhaps as learned a University [illegible]

[illegible] to have children educated in the [illegible] this country, where a littleness of [illegible] The masters are mean spirited [illegible] kicking, and boxing the children [illegible] is, besides, a general littleness, [illegible] contemplation of stivers and [illegible] whole people.

[illegible] are virtues everywhere, but [illegible] not frugality. The Dutch [illegible] thinking of every doit be- [illegible] be a good merchant, or [illegible] gathered; but I [illegible] an industrious [illegible]

where, that those who attend to small expenses are always rich.

"I would have my children attend to doits and farthings as devoutly as the merest Dutchman upon earth, if such attention was necessary to support their independence. A man who discovers a disposition and a design to be independent, seldom succeeds. A jealousy arises against him. The tyrants are alarmed on the one side, lest he should oppose them: the slaves are alarmed on the other, lest he should expose their servility. The cry from all quarters is, '*He is the proudest man in the world: he cannot bear to be under obligation.*'

"I never in my life observed any one endeavoring to lay me under particular obligation to him, but I suspected he had a design to make me his dependent, and to have claims upon my gratitude. This I should have no objection to, because gratitude is always in one's power. But the danger is, that men will expect and require more of us than honor, and innocence, and rectitude will permit us to perform.

"In our country, however, any man, with common industry and prudence, may be independent."

One cannot turn over a page of the domestic history of John Adams, without finding a precept or example, the influence of which is manifested in the character of his illustrious son. Thus he writes to Mrs. Adams, touching certain calumnies which had been propagated against him:—

[illegible] yourself about any malicious attempts to injure me in the estimation of my countrymen. Let them take their course, and go the length of their tether. They will never hurt your husband, who, whatever is fortified with a shield of innocence and honor, ten thousand-fold stronger than brass or adamant. The contemptible essays, made by you know whom, will only hold to their own confusion. My letters have shown them their own ignorance, a sight they never blush at. They say as little about it as I do. I [illegible] laugh before all posterity, at their im-[illegible]."

[illegible] Francis Dana, who had attended John [illegible] of Legation, was appointed Min-[illegible] John Quincy Adams, then fourteen [illegible] and Private Secretary of this mis-[illegible] post fourteen months, per-[illegible] satisfaction to the minis-[illegible] of the youthful secretary [illegible], on his return from [illegible] St. Petersburgh, Hamburgh, [illegible] he had [illegible]

ber, 1783, and was ratified January 14th, 1784. The younger Adams enjoyed the satisfaction of being present at the conclusion of the treaty; and while it was under process of negotiation, he was constantly favored with opportunities of listening to the instructive conversation of Franklin and Jefferson.

The negotiation of the treaty was dilatory in the extreme. It was embarrassed with French intrigues, great carelessness at home, and greater reluctance on the part of England. The wearied Minister wrote to Mrs. Adams on the 30th of May, 1783: "Our son is at the Hague, pursuing his studies with great ardor. They give him a good character wherever he has been, and I hope he will make a good man." On the 9th of June he wrote in these homely, but manly words: "I am weary, worn, and disgusted to death. I had rather chop wood, dig ditches, and make fence upon my poor little farm. Alas, poor farm! and poorer family! what have you lost that your country might be free! and that others might catch fish and hunt deer and bears at their ease!

"There will be as few of the tears of gratitude, or the smiles of admiration, or the sighs of pity for us, as for the army. But all this should not hinder me from going over the same scenes again, upon the same occasions—scenes which I would not encounter for all the wealth, pomp, and power of the world. Boys! if you ever say one word, or utter one complaint, I will disinherit you. Work! you rogues, and be free. You

[illegible] hard work to do as papa has had. Daughter, I get you an honest man for a husband, and keep him honest. No matter whether he is rich, provided he be independent. Regard the honor and the [illegible] character of the man, more than all circumstances. Think of no other greatness but that of the [illegible] riches but those of the heart."

[illegible] the treaty of peace, John Adams, [illegible] Franklin and Jay, was charged with the [illegible] a treaty of commerce with Great [illegible] Adams, taking his son John Quincy [illegible] to London, and took up his resi- [illegible] Court. Mrs. Adams embarked in [illegible] husband.

[illegible] Minister Plenipotentiary [illegible] and thus he, who ten years [illegible] the province of Massachu- [illegible] *that Great Britain has deter-* [illegible] *that very determination* [illegible] first Representative [illegible] to an audience [illegible] Imperial States. [illegible] pointed questions; [illegible] John Adams [illegible] (p. 111, ofmm.)

to their express commands, that I have the honor to assure your Majesty of their unanimous disposition and desire to cultivate the most liberal and friendly intercourse between your Majesty's subjects and their citizens; and of their best wishes for your Majesty's health and happiness, and for that of your royal family.

"The appointment of a Minister from the United States to your Majesty's Court, will form an epoch in the history of England, and of America. I think myself more fortunate than all my fellow citizens, in having the distinguished honor to be the first to stand in your Majesty's royal presence, in a diplomatic character; and I shall esteem myself the happiest of men, if I can be instrumental in recommending my country more and more, to your Majesty's royal benevolence, and of restoring an entire esteem, confidence and affection, or in better words, 'the old good nature, and the old good harmony,' between people, who, though separated by an ocean, and under different governments, have the same language, a similar religion, and kindred blood. I beg your Majesty's permission to add, that although I have sometimes before been intrusted by my country, it was never, in my whole life, in a manner so agreeable to myself."

George III. replied with dignity, but not without some manifestations of excitement:—

"The circumstances of this audience are so extraordinary, the language you have now held is so extremely proper, and the feelings you have discovered so justly

[illegible] that I must say that I not only [illegible] the assurances of the friendly [illegible] United States, but I [illegible] has fallen upon you to be their [illegible] to believe, and that it may [illegible] that I have done nothing in [illegible] what I thought myself indispensable [illegible] duty which I owed my people. [illegible] I was the last to conform to [illegible] having been made, [illegible] I have always said, as I [illegible] be the first to meet the friend- [illegible] States, as an independent power. [illegible] such sentiments and language as [illegible] to give this country [illegible] shall say, let the cir- [illegible] religion and blood have their [illegible]

[illegible] by the King, were, [illegible] the language of cere- [illegible] and the British people, [illegible] with favor. But they [illegible] of reluctant respect. [illegible] in such circum- [illegible] from a [illegible] British power, [illegible]

ney, Hampden, and Milton, its republican patriots; for Shakspeare, Dryden, and Pope, its immortal poets; and for Addison and Johnson, its moralists; here he learned from Wilberforce the principles of political philanthropy, as well as the patience and perseverance to defend them, and studied eloquence by the living models of Pitt, Fox, Erskine, Burke, and Sheridan.

This, indeed, was a fitting conclusion to a precocious education by the patriots and philosophers of his own country, with practical observations in the courts of Spain and the Netherlands, of the weak but amiable Louis XVI., and the accomplished, but depraved, Catharine II.

John Quincy Adams now became fearful that the duties of manhood would devolve upon him without his having completed the necessary academic studies. He therefore obtained leave to return home in 1785, at the age of eighteen years, and entered Cambridge University, at an advanced standing, in 1786. He graduated in 1788 with deserved honors.

CHAPTER II.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS STUDIES LAW—HIS PRACTICE—ENGAGES IN PUBLIC LIFE—APPOINTED MINISTER TO THE HAGUE.

[illegible] the University, young Adams en- [illegible] Theophilus Parsons, who was then [illegible] at Newburyport, and who after- [illegible] years filled with dignity and ability [illegible] of Massachusetts.

[illegible] the usual term of professional [illegible] the practice of the law in [illegible] some who are oppressed [illegible] initiation in the profession, [illegible] only four years of [illegible] he had occasion for [illegible] (he afterwards [illegible] lowest office in the pro- [illegible] more [illegible] the four [illegible]

duties than "making writs," and "haranguing juries," and "being happy."

The American Revolution, which had been brought to a successful close, had inspired, throughout Europe, a desire to renovate the institutions of government. The officers and citizens of France who had mingled in the contest, had carried home the seeds of freedom, and had scattered them abroad upon soil quick to receive them. The flame of Liberty, kindled on the shores of the Western Continent, was reflected back upon the Old World. France beheld its beams, and hailed them as a beacon-light, which should lead the nations out from the bondage of ages. Inspirited by the success attending the struggle in the British colonies, the French people, long crushed beneath a grinding despotism, resolved to burst their shackles and strike for Freedom. It was a noble resolution, but consummated, alas! amid devastation and the wildest anarchy. The French Revolution filled the world with horror. It was the work of a blind giant, urged to fury by the remembrance of wrongs endured for generations. The Altar of Liberty was reared amid seas of blood, and stained with the gore of innocent victims.

The measurable failure of this struggle in France, teaches the necessity of due preparation before a people can advance to the permanent possession and enjoyment of their rights. The American colonists had been trained to rational conceptions of freedom, by

[illegible] wisdom and sagacity read them by their Puritan fathers, and by the experience in self-government, afforded during a century and a half of enjoyment of a large share of political privileges, granted by the mother country. They were thus prepared to lay deep and strong the foundations of an enlightened government, which should remove from the extremes of despotism on the one hand, and anarchy on the other, and granting its subjects the exercise of their right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," shall [illegible] to come. But the people of [illegible] darkness during centuries of mis-[illegible] from abject servitude to unlim-[illegible] unprepared for this violent [illegible] conceptions of liberty were of the [illegible] description. What wonder that [illegible] their sudden elevation! What [illegible] rivers!—that dissension [illegible] that a fearful anarchy [illegible] that the confused and [illegible] of a military [illegible] not this lesson [illegible] people who would [illegible] the study of [illegible] the patri-[illegible] violent

measure upon the American people. They were charged with the origin of the misrule which convulsed France, and filled the eastern hemisphere with alarm: and were tauntingly pointed to the crude theories promulgated by French democracy, and the failure of their phrenzied efforts to establish an enlightened and permanent Republic, as conclusive evidence that self-government, among any people, was a mere Utopian dream, which could never be realized.

The establishment of a republican government in America, had not been relished by the monarchies of Europe. They looked upon it with distrust, as a precedent dangerous to them in the highest degree. The succor which Louis XVI. had rendered the revolting colonists, was not from a love of democratic institutions: it was his hope to cripple Great Britain, his ancient enemy, and to find some opportunity, perhaps, to win back his Canadian provinces, which had so recently been rent from his possession. When the pent-up flames of revolution burst forth at the very doors of the governments of the old world—when the French throne had been robbed of its king, and that king of his life—when a Republic had been proclaimed in their midst, and signal-notes of freedom were ringing in their borders—they became seriously alarmed. The growing evil must be checked immediately. Led on by England, the continental powers combined to exterminate at a blow, if possible, every vestige of Republicanism in France. Then commenced

the last wars of bloody wars, which, with little intermission, convulsed Europe for nearly a quarter of a century, and ceased only when the rock of St. Helena received the lonely exile.

In the meantime affairs at home had attained to a critical position. The Constitution had been adopted. The new government had been set in operation under the supervision of Washington, as the first President of the Republic. The people, influenced by certain "foreign complications," had become sundered into two political parties—*Conservative* and *Progressive*, [illegible] Democratic. Both were distrustful of [illegible] The former believed it too weak to [illegible] government capable of protecting its [illegible] enjoyment of their rights, from [illegible] from without. The latter [illegible] be transformed, by some [illegible] instrument of oppression, [illegible] monarchy from [illegible] at the expense of [illegible] of these parties are [illegible] and honesty of [illegible] only [illegible]

resented the Federal party, and Jefferson and Randolph the opposite. During his entire administration, "the Father of his country" steadily aimed to keep himself clear from all party entanglements. He was emphatically the President of the whole people, and not of a faction. His magnanimous spirit would not stoop to party favoritism, nor allow him to exercise the power entrusted him, to promote the interests of any political clique. In all his measures his great object was to advance the welfare of the nation, without regard to their influence on conflicting parties. In these things he left behind him a pure and noble example, richly worthy the imitation of his successors in that high station.

The Revolution in France, and the measures adopted by the Allied Sovereigns to arrest its progress, excited the liveliest interest among the people of the United States. But their sympathies ran in different channels, and very naturally took the hue of their party predilections. The Democrats, believing the French Revolution to be the up-springing of the same principles which had triumphed here—a lawful attempt of an oppressed people to secure the exercise of inalienable rights—although shuddering at the excesses which had been perpetrated, still felt it to be our own cause, and insisted that we were in honor and duty bound to render all the assistance in our power, even to a resort to arms, if need be. The Federalists, on the other hand, were alarmed at the anarchical tendencies in

[illegible] fearful that law, order, govern-
[illegible] would be utterly and speedily
[illegible] the revolutionary movement was
[illegible] these apprehensions, they were
[illegible] views of Great Britain and other
[illegible] were anxious that the govern-
[illegible] should adopt some active
[illegible] what they could not but
[illegible] to political and social anarchy.
[illegible] parties differed as to the measures
[illegible] this crisis, they were united in
[illegible] government should take some
[illegible] in these European struggles; and
[illegible] influence to bring about such an in-
[illegible] accordance with their con-
[illegible] expediency.

[illegible] this period, in Boston, a young
[illegible] whose views on these im-
[illegible] from those enter-
[illegible] It was John Quincy Adams.
[illegible] the attempts of the
[illegible] Republic, and re-
[illegible] favoring
[illegible] the French

Centinel, in 1791, a series of articles, signed "Publicola," in which he discussed with great ability, the wild vagaries engendered among political writers in France, and which had been caught up by many in our own country. These articles attracted much attention, both at home and abroad. They were re-published in England, as an answer to several points in Paine's "Rights of Man." So profound was the political sagacity they displayed, and so great the familiarity with public affairs, that they were, by general consent, attributed to the elder Adams. On this subject, John Adams writes his wife as follows, from Philadelphia, on the 5th December, 1793:—

"The Viscount Noailles called on me. * * * * He seemed very critical in his inquiries concerning the letters printed as mine in England. I told him candidly that I did not write them, and as frankly, in confidence, who did. He says they made a great impression upon the people of England; that he heard Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox speak of them as the best thing that had been written, and as one of the best pieces of reasoning and style they had ever read."

The younger Adams, in surveying the condition of the country at this critical period, became convinced it would be a fatal step for the new government to take sides with either of the great parties in Europe, who were engaged in the settlement of their difficulties by the arbitrement of arms. However strongly our sympathies were elicited in behalf of the French Republic—however we may have been bound in gratitude for the assistance rendered us during our Revolution-

[illegible] sympathizing with France in her defence of popular institutions—still, self-preservation is the first law of nature. Mr. Adams saw, that to throw ourselves into the melee of European conflicts, would jeopardize the interests of the country, and peril the very existence of the government.

These views he embodied in a series of articles, which he published in the Boston Centinel, in 1793, under the signature of "Marcellus." He insisted it was the dictate of duty and policy, that the [illegible] should remain strictly neutral between [illegible] parties. These papers attracted [illegible] throughout the Union, and made a [illegible] on the public mind. They were [illegible] with expressions of the highest [illegible] particular inquiries respect-

[illegible] on neutrality was new, [illegible] of the great mass of [illegible] belongs the honor [illegible] policy, which [illegible] principle of the American [illegible]

—independence not only politically, but in manufactures and in commerce.

On the 25th of April, 1793, Washington issued a proclamation, announcing the neutrality of the United States between the belligerent nations of Europe. This proclamation was not issued until after Mr. Adams' articles urging this course had been before the public for some time. It is an honorable testimony to the sagacity of his views, that Washington, and the eminent men composing his cabinet, adopted a policy which coincided so perfectly with opinions he had formed purely from the strength of his own convictions. The proclamation pleased neither of the belligerent nations in Europe. It aroused the enmity of both; and laid open our commerce to the depredations of all parties, on the plea that the American government was inimical to their interests.

While in the practice of law in Boston, Mr. Adams was not well satisfied with his condition or prospects. That he was laudably ambitious to arise to distinction in some honorable line is quite certain. But, singular as it may appear at this day, in view of his early life, and his acknowledged talents, he was not looking for, nor expecting, political preferment. These facts appear in the following passages from his diary, written at that time; and which, moreover, will be found to contain certain rules of action for life, which the young men of our country should studiously seek to imitate.

[illegible], 1782. I am not satisfied with the man-
[illegible] employ my time. It is calculated to keep me forever
fixed in that state of useless and disgraceful insignificancy, which
has been my lot for [illegible] past. At an age bearing close upon
twenty-five, when many of the characters who were born for the
benefit of their fellow-creatures have rendered themselves conspic-
[illegible] and founded a reputation upon
[illegible], and will continue to the latest pos-
[illegible] I shall find myself as obscure, as unknown to
[illegible] without, or the most stupid of human beings.
[illegible] I have done nothing. Fortune, indeed,
[illegible] a large proportion of the merit which ex-
[illegible] the talents of professional men, at an early
[illegible] has not hitherto been peculiarly indulgent to
[illegible] I inquire whether I should, at this
[illegible] and derive any benefit from an oppor-
[illegible] to procure for me, my own mind
[illegible] My heart is not conscious of
[illegible] desire to establish either fame,
[illegible] foundation than that of desert.
[illegible] is equally painful and hu-
[illegible] is constant and unceasing,
[illegible] talents which ought alone to
[illegible] bashful, frequently in-
[illegible] equivalent to its purposes.
[illegible] of my present
[illegible] reflect further upon the
[illegible] which may
[illegible] to

severing pursuit of the means adapted to the end I have in view, as has often been the subject of my speculation, but never of my practice.

> 'Labor and toil stand stern before the throne,
> And guard—so Jove commands—the sacred place.'

"The mode of life adopted almost universally by my cotemporaries and equals is by no means calculated to secure the object of my ambition. My emulation is seldom stimulated by observing the industry and application of those whom my situation in life gives me for companions. The pernicious and childish opinion that extraordinary genius cannot brook the slavery of plodding over the rubbish of antiquity (a cant so common among the heedless votaries of indolence), dulls the edge of all industry, and is one of the most powerful ingredients in the Circean potion which transforms many of the most promising young men into the beastly forms which, in sluggish idleness, feed upon the labors of others. The degenerate sentiment, I hope, will never obtain admission in my mind; and, if my mind should be loitered away in stupid laziness, it will be under the full conviction of my conscience that I am basely bartering the greatest benefits with which human beings can be indulged, for the miserable gratifications which are hardly worthy of contributing to the enjoyments of the brute creation.

"And as I have grounded myself upon the principle, that my character is, under the smiles of heaven, to be the work of my own hands, it becomes necessary for me to determine upon what part of active or of speculative life I mean to rest my pretensions to eminence. My own situation and that of my country equally prohibit me from seeking to derive any present expectations from a public career. My disposition is not military; and, happily, the warlike talents are not those which open the most pleasing or the most reputable avenue to fame. I have had some transient thoughts of undertaking some useful literary performance, but the pursuit would militate too much at present with that of the profession upon which I am to depend, not only for my reputation, but for my subsistence.

"I have, therefore, concluded that the most proper object of my present attention is that *profession itself*. And in acquiring the faculty to discharge the duties of it, in a manner suitable to my own wishes and the expectations of my friends, I find ample room for close and attentive application; for frequent and considerable deter-

[illegible] and the [illegible] benefits of practical experience as occasional [illegible] in the way."

The following letter from John Adams, at this time Vice-President of the United States, written to his wife [illegible], will be interesting, as showing, among other things, his anxiety that his sons should make [illegible] in life, which would give promise of future [illegible]. He was far from believing that sons [illegible] on the reputation or wealth [illegible]

"*Philadelphia*, 2 *March*, 1793.

[illegible] sick chamber, if not from your sick bed, [illegible] that I might get away as soon as possible. [illegible] to set off in the stage; but how [illegible] home, will depend on the roads or the [illegible] [his daughter,] will go with me. Her [illegible] is so proud of his wealth, that he [illegible] without a coach-and-four; and [illegible] in future have nothing to do with, [illegible] at the seat of government [illegible] an allowance.

[illegible] Smith says that my [illegible] of the Committee for [illegible] through Tom, [illegible] to have anything to do [illegible] in my [illegible]

however, that my boys had a little more of his activity. I must soon treat them as the pigeons treat their squabs—push them off the limb, and make them put out their wings or fall. Young pigeons will never fly till this is done. Smith has acquired the confidence of the French ministry, and the better sort of the members of the National Convention. But the Executive is too changeable in that country to be depended on, without the utmost caution.

"Adieu, adieu, tendrement, J. A."

One of the sons of the noble patriot, soon "put out his wings," and soared, ultimately, to a pinnacle of honor and renown attained by few among men. In the winter of 1793 and 1794, the public mind had become highly excited from the inflammatory appeals in behalf of France, by Citizen Genet, the French Minister to the United States. A large portion of the anti-Federal party took sides with Mr. Genet, against the neutral position of our Government, and seemed determined to plunge the Union into the European contest, in aid of the French Republic. Some idea may be obtained of the excitement which prevailed at this time, and of the perilous condition of the country, by an extract or two from letters of Vice-President John Adams. In a letter dated Philadelphia, Dec. 5, 1793, he writes as follows:—

"It will require all the address, all the temper, and all the firmness of Congress and the States, to keep this people out of the war; or rather, to avoid a declaration of war against us, from some mischievous power or other. It is but little that I can do, either by the functions which the Constitution has entrusted to me, or by my personal influence; but that little shall be industriously employed, until it is put beyond a doubt that it will be fruitless; and then, I shall be in readiness to meet unavoidable calamities, as any other citizen."

Under date of Jan. 9, 1794, he says :—

[illegible] this country are gloomy, but the situation of all Europe is calamitous beyond all former examples. At what time, and in what manner, and by what means, the disasters which are [illegible] to be coming on mankind, may be averted, I know [illegible] our people have been imprudent, as I think, and are [illegible] under the effects of their indiscretion; but this, [illegible] is an aggravation of our misfortune. Mr. [illegible] on the President [Washington] and all his [illegible] All measure of decency or obligations of truth, and in other respects, not yet publicly investigated, his conduct has been [illegible] to make it difficult to know what to do with him. [illegible] is, that the Queen of France [illegible] will, perhaps, be satiated with blood? No. [illegible] Europe, and therefore none of internal harmony [illegible] well to in a more disagreeable situation [illegible] with all Indians, and with all Barbary [illegible] of the Continent is in constant opposition [illegible] situation, which is highly respon-

[illegible] and skill of Mr Jefferson, then [illegible] counteract the influence of the [illegible] citizens of the United [illegible] acts against the Allied [illegible] Union in a foreign war. [illegible] assisted by the pen of [illegible] wrote a series of [illegible]

ation of the country in the neutral line of policy which had been wisely adopted.

In reference to this topic, John Adams writes his wife, as follows, under date of Dec. 19, 1793:—

"The President has considered the conduct of Genet very nearly in the same light with 'Columbus,' and has given him a bolt of thunder. We shall see how this is supported by the two Houses. There are who gnash their teeth with rage which they dare not own as yet. We shall soon see whether we have any government or not in this country."

The political writings of the younger Adams had now brought him prominently before the public. They attracted the especial attention of Mr. Jefferson, who saw in them a vastness of comprehension, a maturity of judgment and critical discrimination, which gave large promise of future usefulness and eminence. Before his retirement from the State Department, he commended the youthful statesman to the favorable regard of President Washington, as one pre-eminently fitted for public service.

General Washington, although a soldier by profession, was a lover of peace. His policy during his administration of the government, was pre-eminently pacific. Convinced that, in the infant state of the Union, war with a foreign nation could result only in evil and ruin, he was anxious to cultivate the most friendly relations with foreign governments, and to carry out, both in letter and spirit, the strict neutrality he had proclaimed. To declare and maintain these

principles shared, and to form political and commercial relations with European powers, Washington looked anxiously around for one fitted for a mission so important. His attention soon became fixed on John Quincy Adams. He saw in him qualities not only of deep political sagacity, and views of policy at unity with his own, but a familiarity with the languages and [illegible] courts, which marked him as one every way calculated to represent our government with credit at the old world. He accordingly, in May, 1794, [illegible] Minister of the United States at [illegible]

[illegible] appointment was as flattering to [illegible] connected, is naturally true. It [illegible] in consideration of the fact, [illegible] to offices of this importance [illegible] and talent, and not the result [illegible] of party services. Mr. [illegible] twenty-seventh year of [illegible] undoubtedly, than has since [illegible] to fulfil a trust [illegible] of the [illegible] his [illegible] in [illegible]

the influence or even the request of his parent. It is not strictly correct, however, as stated by several biographers, that he was selected for the mission to Holland without any previous intimation of the President's intentions to his father. This is made evident by the following extract of a letter from John Adams to his wife, dated Philadelphia, 27th May, 1794, conveying intelligence which must have made a mother's heart swell with honest pride and satisfaction :—

"It is proper that I should apprize you, that the President has it in contemplation to send your son to Holland, that you may recollect yourself and prepare for the event. I make this communication to you in confidence, at the desire of the President, communicated to me yesterday by the Secretary of State. You must keep it an entire secret until it shall be announced to the public in the journal of the Senate. But our son must hold himself in readiness to come to Philadelphia, to converse with the President, Secretary of State, Secretary of the Treasury, &c., and receive his commissions and instructions, without loss of time. He will go to Providence in the stage, and thence to New York by water, and thence to Philadelphia in the stage. He will not set out, however, until he is informed of his appointment."

"Your son!" is the phrase by which the father meant to convey his own sense of how large a part the mother had in training that son; and to enhance the compliment, it is communicated to her at the desire of President Washington.

CHAPTER III.

MR. ADAMS TRANSFERRED TO BERLIN—HIS MARRIAGE—LITERARY PURSUITS—TRAVELS IN SILESIA—NEGOTIATES TREATIES WITH SWEDEN AND PRUSSIA—RECALLED TO THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. Adams presented himself at the Hague, as Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States, in the summer of 1794. Ten years before, he was there [illegible] a lad, attending school—at which time [illegible] "They give him a good character [illegible] and I hope he will make a good [illegible] that hope was likely to be [illegible] and responsible position occupied [illegible] of the first ten years after [illegible] and true indication.

[illegible] Mr. Adams found the af[illegible] in consequence [illegible] to prosecute [illegible] the United [illegible] unsettled [illegible]

dated Aug. 20, 1795, in which the following language occurs:—

"Your son must not think of retiring from the path he is now in. His prospects, if he pursues it, are fair; and I shall be much mistaken if, in as short a time as can well be expected, he is not found at the head of the Diplomatic Corps, be the government administered by whomsoever the people may choose."

This approbation of his proceedings thus far, and encouragement as to future success, from so high a source, undoubtedly induced the younger Adams to forego his inclination to withdraw from the field of diplomacy. He continued in Holland until near the close of Washington's administration. That he was not an inattentive observer of the momentous events then transpiring in Europe, but was watchful and faithful in all that pertained to the welfare of his country, is abundantly proved by his official correspondence with the government at home. His communications were esteemed by Washington, as of the highest value, affording him, as they did, a luminous description of the movement of continental affairs, upon which he could place the most implicit reliance.

The following extract of a letter from John Adams, will show the interest he naturally took in the welfare of his son while abroad, and also afford a brief glance at the political movements of that day. It is dated Philadelphia, Jan. 23, 1796:—

"We have been very unfortunate in the delays which have attended the dispatches of our ambassadors. Very lucky, Mr. John

Quincy Adams, that you are not liable to criticism on this occasion! This dispatch would have been charged doubly, both to your account and that of your father. It would have been a scheme, a trick, a design, a contrivance, from hatred to France, attachment to England, unwarrantable manœuvres, and aristocratical cunning! Oh! how elegant they would have been!

"The southern gentry are playing, at present, a very artful game, which I may intrigue to join in confidence hereafter, under the seal of secrecy. Both in conversation and in letters, they are representing the Vice-President [John Adams,] as a man of moderation. Although [illegible] inclined to limited monarchy, and somewhat attached to the English, he is much less so than Jay or Hamilton. For [illegible], for the sake of conciliation, they should be very [illegible] to continued as Vice-President, provided the [illegible] would consent that Jefferson should be President. [illegible] thank you for your kind condescension, [illegible]

"Witness my hand,

"JOHN ADAMS."

[illegible] to his son while abroad, is made by [illegible] in a letter dated Philadelphia, March [illegible]

[illegible] he had that day received three or four [illegible] in Boston, one of them as late as the [illegible] that Mr. Adams' [illegible] but it was insisted on by [illegible] to the King, [illegible] Mr. Adams [illegible]

Britain, and to take measures for carrying its provisions into effect. (Alluded to in the above letter from John Adams.) It was at this time that he formed an acquaintance with Miss LOUISA CATHARINE JOHNSON, daughter of Joshua Johnson, Esq., of Maryland, Consular Agent of the United States at London, and niece of Governor Johnson of Maryland, a Judge of the Supreme Court of the United States, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. The friendship they formed for each other, soon ripened into a mutual attachment and an engagement. They were married on the 26th of July, 1797. It was a happy union. For more than half a century they shared each other's joys and sorrows. The venerable matron who for this long period accompanied him in all the vicissitudes of his eventful life, still survives, to deplore the loss of him who had ever proved a faithful protector and the kindest of husbands.

In the meantime, the elder Adams had been elected President of the United States, in 1796. The curious reader may have a desire to know something of the views, feelings and anticipations of those elevated to places of the highest distinction, and of the amount of enjoyment they reap from the honors conferred upon them. A glance behind the scenes is furnished in the following correspondence between John Adams and his wife, which took place at his election to the Presidency.*

* Letters of John Adams, v. ii. pp. [illegible]. Mrs. Adams' Letters, p. [illegible].

[illegible] ADAMS TO HIS WIFE.

"*Philadelphia, 4th of Feb.*, 1797.

"My Dearest Friend,

"I hope you will not communicate to anybody the hints I give you about our prospects; but they appear every day worse and [illegible] twenty-seven hundred dollars a year, fifteen hundred dollars for a carriage, one thousand for one pair of horses, [illegible] kitchen furniture, the best chairs, settees, [illegible] to purchase; all the china, delph or wedgewood, [illegible] of every sort to purchase, and not a farthing [illegible] House of Representatives allow, though the Senate [illegible] All the linen besides. I shall not pre- [illegible] one pair of horses for a carriage, and one [illegible] servants, wood, charities, which are de- [illegible] hundred dollars, present such a prospect [illegible] Yet not one word must we say. [illegible] must stand our ground as long as we [illegible] with the help of our friend Dr. Tufts, [illegible] impatient for news, but that is always [illegible] I am tenderly your J. A."

[illegible] TO THE SAME.

"*Philadelphia*, 9th *Feb.*, 1797.

[illegible] OF PEACE [illegible]

[illegible] preserve yourself for honorable [illegible] Congress will do anything or [illegible]

MRS. JOHN ADAMS TO HER HUSBAND.

"*Quincy, 8th Feb.*, 1797.

"'The sun is dressed in brightest beams,
To give thy honors to the day.'

"And may it prove an auspicious prelude to each ensuing season. You have this day to declare yourself head of a nation. 'And now, O Lord, my God, thou hast made thy servant ruler over the people. Give unto him an understanding heart, that he may know how to go out and come in before this great people; that he may discern between good and bad. For who is able to judge this thy so great a people?' were the words of a royal sovereign; and not less applicable to him who is invested with the Chief Magistracy of a nation, though he wear not a crown, nor the robes of royalty.

"My thoughts and my meditations are with you, though personally absent; and my petitions to Heaven are, that 'the things which make for peace may not be hidden from your eyes.' My feelings are not those of pride or ostentation, upon the occasion. They are solemnized by a sense of the obligations, the important trusts, and numerous duties connected with it. That you may be enabled to discharge them with honor to yourself, with justice and impartiality to your country, and with satisfaction to this great people, shall be the daily prayer of your A. A."

MR. ADAMS TO HIS WIFE.

"*Philadelphia, 5th March*, 1797.

"My Dearest Friend,

"Your dearest friend never had a more trying day than yesterday.* A solemn scene it was indeed; and it was made more affecting to me by the presence of the General, [Washington,] whose countenance was as serene and unclouded as the day. He seemed to me to enjoy a triumph over me. Methought I heard him say, 'Ay! I am fairly out, and you fairly in! See which of us will be happiest.' When the ceremony was over, he came and made me a visit, and cordially congratulated me, and wished my administration might be happy, successful, and honorable.

* The day of his inauguration as President.

[illegible] It is whispered that I am to go into his house. It is whispered that he intends to take French leave to-morrow. I shall write you as fast as we proceed. My chariot is finished, and I made my first appearance in it yesterday. It is simple, but elegant enough. My horses are young, but clever.

"In the chamber of the House of Representatives, was a multitude [illegible] could contain, and I believe scarcely a [illegible] The sight of the sun setting full [illegible] though less splendid, was a novelty. [illegible] administered the oath, and with great en- [illegible] Wilson, and Iredell, were present. Many [illegible] well the night before, and did not sleep well [illegible] unwell, and did not know whether I should [illegible] however. How the business was re- [illegible] I have been told that Mason, the treaty [illegible] nothing by the change, for he never [illegible] in his life.

[illegible] it was the sublimest thing ever [illegible]

[illegible] affectionately and kindly yours,

"JOHN ADAMS."

[illegible] of the Presidency, John [illegible] embarrassed in regard to the line [illegible] his son. Tom, the younger [illegible] Washington with an [illegible] that the [illegible] with [illegible]

Washington. Writing him for advice on this subject, he received the following reply:—

"*Monday, Feb.* 20, 1797.

"DEAR SIR,

"I thank you for giving me a perusal of the enclosed. The sentiments do honor to the head and the heart of the writer; and if my wishes would be of any avail, they should go to you in a strong hope, that you will not withhold merited promotion from John Q. Adams, because he is your son. For without intending to compliment the father or the mother, or to censure any others, I give it as my decided opinion, that Mr. Adams is the most valuable public character we have abroad; and that there remains no doubt in my mind, that he will prove himself to be the ablest of all our diplomatic corps. If he was now to be brought into that line, or into any other public walk, I could not, upon the principle which has regulated my own conduct, disapprove of the caution which is hinted at in the letter. But he is already entered; the public, more and more, as he is known, are appreciating his talents and worth; and his country would sustain a loss, if these were to be checked by over delicacy on your part.

"With sincere esteem, and affectionate regard,

"I am ever yours,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

This letter is characteristic of the discernment and nobleness of Washington. Appreciating at a glance the perplexed position of Mr. Adams, and wisely discriminating between the bringing forward of his son for the first time into public service, and the continuing him where he had already been placed by others, and shown himself worthy of all trust and confidence, he frankly advised him to overcome his scruples, and permit his son to remain in a career so full of promise to himself and his country. President Adams, in

[illegible] with this counsel, determined to allow his son to continue in Europe in the public capacity to which he had been promoted by Washington.

Shortly previous to the close of Washington's administration, he detached the younger Adams from his duties, by an appointment as Minister Plenipotentiary to Berlin, but before proceeding to Lisbon, his father, by the resignation having become President, [illegible] his destination to Berlin. He arrived in that [illegible] in 1797, and immediately entered [illegible] of his duties as Minister of the [illegible] in 1798, while retaining his office at [illegible] commissioned to form a commercial [illegible]

[illegible] at Berlin, Mr. Adams, while [illegible] diligence to his public duties, [illegible] congenial pursuits of literature, [illegible] acquaintance of many eminent [illegible] still manifested a friendly [illegible] to the late Dr. [illegible] as follows:—

[illegible]

Oberon into the English language. The publication of this work, which at one time was designed, was superseded by the appearance of a similar translation by Sotheby.

In the summer of 1800, Mr. Adams made a tour through Silesia. He was charmed with the inhabitants of that region, their condition and habits. In many respects he found them bearing a great similarity to the people of his own native New England. He communicated his impressions during this excursion, in a series of letters to a younger brother in Philadelphia. These letters were interesting, and were considered of great value at that time, in consequence of many important facts they contained in regard to the manufacturing establishments of Silesia. They were published, without Mr. Adams's knowledge, in the Port Folio, a weekly paper edited by Joseph Dennie, at Philadelphia. The series was afterwards collected and published in a volume, in London, and has been translated into German and French, and extensively circulated on the continent.

Among other labors while at Berlin, Mr. Adams succeeded in forming a treaty of amity and commerce with the Prussian government. The protracted correspondence with the Prussian commissioners, which resulted in this treaty, involving as it did the rights of neutral commerce, was conducted with consummate ability on the part of Mr. Adams, and received the fullest sanction of the government at home.

[illegible] missions at the Hague and at Berlin, [illegible] first step in the intricate paths of diplomacy. They were accomplished amid the momentous events which convulsed all Europe, at the close of the [illegible] century. Republican France, exasperated [illegible] of the Allied Sovereigns to destroy [illegible] recently obtained, was pushing its ar[illegible] abroad, in self-defence, to kindle the [illegible] in every kingdom on the conti[illegible], combined with Austria and other [illegible] was using every effort to crush the [illegible] remove from before the eyes [illegible] an example so dangerous to [illegible]. The star of Napoleon had [illegible] with a suddenness and bright[illegible] the ambitious occupants of old [illegible] rushed down from the Alps [illegible] Italy, and with the swoop of [illegible] towns, cities, kingdoms.

[illegible] the commerce and [illegible], a neutral power, were [illegible] Great Britain [illegible] Our [illegible] In the [illegible]

he maintained the dignity and honor of his government—how sleepless the vigilance with which he watched the movements on the vast field of political strife—how prompt to protest against all encroachments—how skilful in conducting negotiations—and how active to promote the interests of the Union, wherever his influence could be felt—the archives of our country will abundantly testify. It was a fitting and promising commencement of a long public career which has been full of usefulness and of honor.

The administration of John Adams, as President of the United States, was characterized by great prudence and moderation, considering the excited state of the times. There cannot be a doubt he was anxious to copy the worthy example of his illustrious predecessor, in administering the government on principles of strict impartiality, for the good of the whole people, without respect to conflicting parties. Immediately on his inauguration, he had an interview with Mr. Jefferson, then Vice-President, and proposed the adoption of steps that would have a tendency to quell the spirit of faction which pervaded the country. That Mr. Jefferson, on his part, cherished a profound respect for Mr. Adams, his old co-laborer in the cause of American freedom, is evident from his letters and speeches of that day. In his speech on taking the chair of the Senate, as Vice-President, he expressed himself in the following terms:—

[illegible] and with the greatest truth, to declare my [illegible] the Constitution of the United States; that [illegible] United States as the first of blessings; and [illegible] preservation of that Constitution which [illegible] these declarations not pertinent to the [illegible] office, whose primary business is merely [illegible] of this House; and no one more sin- [illegible] that may call me to the higher and more [illegible] the Constitution eventually devolves on [illegible] fully confided to the eminent char- [illegible] whose talents and integrity have [illegible] for me, through a long course of years; [illegible] of a cordial and uninterrupted friendship be- [illegible] may be long preserved for the gov- [illegible] prosperity of our common country."

[illegible] President Adams to produce [illegible] among the American peo- [illegible] the extraordinary events trans- [illegible] influence on domestic pol- [illegible] established. "The chemics [illegible] England," or *vice versa*, [illegible] to its centre. [illegible] continuing [illegible] His political [illegible]

other would ever rest upon them—all testify his ardent devotion to the principles of republicanism. At the breaking out of the French Revolution, he yielded it his hearty support, and did not withdraw his countenance, until compelled, by the scenes of anarchy and of carnage which soon ensued, to turn away with horror and raise his voice against proceedings of savage ferocity. But while condemning the excesses of the French revolutionists, he was no friend of Great Britain. This is made evident by a multitude of facts. Read, for instance, the following extract from a letter, not written for public effect, addressed to his wife, dated Philadelphia, April 9, 1796:—

"I have read 'the minister's' dispatches from London. The King could not help discovering his old ill humor. The mad idiot will never recover. Blunderer by nature, accidents are all against him. Every measure of his reign has been wrong. It seems they don't like Pinckney. They think he is no friend to that country, and too much of a French Jacobin. They wanted to work up some idea or other of introducing another in his place, but our young politician* saw into them too deeply to be duped. At his last visit to Court, the King passed him without speaking to him, which, you know, will be remarked by courtiers of all nations. I am glad of it; for I would not have my son go so far as Mr. Jay, and affirm the friendly disposition of that country to this. I know better. I know their jealousy, envy, hatred, and revenge, covered under pretended contempt."

While President Adams cherished no partialities for Great Britain, and had no desire to promote her commercial interest, he was compelled by the force of circumstances

* J. Q. Adams.

[illegible] administration, to assume a hostile attitude towards France. The French Directory, chagrined at the failure of all attempts to induce the government of the United States to abandon its neutrality and take up arms in their behalf against the Allied [illegible] and deeply incensed at the treaty recently [illegible] between England and the United States, re[illegible] measures. They adopted com[illegible] designed to cripple and destroy our [illegible] They passed an ordinance authorizing, [illegible] seizure and confiscation of Ameri[illegible] They refused to receive Mr. [illegible] minister, and ordered him [illegible] France.

[illegible] Congress, by proclamation, on [illegible] and in his message laid before [illegible] of the aggressions of the [illegible] made advances, with a [illegible] France. But failing in [illegible] measures were [illegible] in a condition for war. [illegible] The government [illegible] from defensive [illegible] taken for a

than a few collisions at sea. The French Directory became alarmed, and made overtures of peace.

Washington did not survive to witness the restoration of amicable relations with France. On the 14th of December, 1799, after a brief illness, he departed this life, at Mount Vernon, aged sixty-eight years. On receiving this mournful intelligence, Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, passed the following resolution:—

"Resolved, That the Speaker's chair should be shrouded in black; that the members should wear black during the session, and that a joint committee, from the Senate and the House, be appointed to devise the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the Man, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

Testimonials of sorrow were exhibited, and funeral orations and eulogies were delivered, throughout the United States. The Father of his Country slept in death, and an entire people mourned his departure!

On assuming the duties of the Presidency, the elder Adams found the finances of the country in a condition of the most deplorable prostration. To sustain the government in this department, it was deemed indispensable to establish a system of direct taxation, by internal duties. This produced great dissatisfaction throughout the Union. An "alien law" was passed, which empowered the President to banish from the United States, any foreigner whom he should consider dangerous to the peace and safety of the country. And a "sedition law," imposing fine and imprisonment

for "any false, scandalous, and malicious writing against the government of the United States, or either house of Congress, or the President."

These measures are not justly chargeable to John Adams. They were not recommended nor desired by him; but were brought forward and urged by Gen. Hamilton and his friends. Nevertheless upon Mr. Adams [illegible] the odium they excited. The leading [illegible] of his administration—the demonstration [illegible] standing army; the direct taxa- [illegible] sedition laws—all tended to injure [illegible] the mass of the people, and to de- [illegible] after re-election to the presidency. [illegible] was compelled to encounter during [illegible] be conceived on perusal of his [illegible] March 17, 1797:—

[illegible] I saw, I see a scene of ambition [illegible] an emulation which [illegible] rivalries and [illegible] of their antagonists, [illegible] never [illegible] in [illegible] we war

hearts—"Before I end my letter, I pray heaven to bestow the best of blessings on this house, and on all that shall hereafter inhabit it. May none but honest and wise men ever rule under this roof!" A description of the house and the city, at that time, is furnished in a letter from Mrs. Adams to her daughter, written in November, 1800:—

"I arrived here on Sunday last, and without meeting any accident worth noticing, except losing ourselves when we left Baltimore, and going eight or nine miles on the Frederick road, by which means we were obliged to go the other eight through the woods, where we wandered two hours without finding a guide or the path. Fortunately, a straggling black came up with us, and we engaged him as a guide to extricate us out of our difficulty; but woods are all you see, from Baltimore, until you reach *the city*, which is only so in name. Here and there is a small cot, without a glass window, interspersed among the forests, through which you travel miles without seeing any human being. * * * * * * * * * The house is made habitable, but there is not a single apartment finished, and all withinside, except the plastering, has been done since Briesler came. We have not the least fence, yard, or other convenience without, and the great unfinished audience-room I make a drying-room of, to hang up the clothes in. The principal stairs are not up, and will not be this winter. Six chambers are made comfortable; two are occupied by the President and Mr. Shaw; two lower rooms, one for a common parlor, and one for a levee room. Up stairs there is the oval room, which is designed for the drawing-room, and has the crimson furniture in it. It is a very handsome room now; but when completed, it will be beautiful."

The presidential contest in 1800, was urged with a warmth and bitterness, by both parties, which has not been equalled in any election since that period. It was the first time two candidates ever presented themselves to the people as rival aspirants for the highest

honor in their gift. Both were good men and true—both were worthy of the confidence of the country. But Mr. Adams, weighed down by the unpopularity of acts adopted during his administration, and suffering under the charge of being an enemy to revolutionary France, and a friend of monarchical England, was distanced and defeated by his competitor. Mr. Jefferson was elected the third President of the Republic, and was inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1801. One of [illegible] John Adams, before retiring from the [illegible] to recall his son from Berlin, that [illegible] might have no embarrassment in that

CHAPTER IV.

MR. ADAMS' RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES—ELECTED TO THE MASSACHUSETTS SENATE—APPOINTED U. S. SENATOR—SUPPORTS MR. JEFFERSON—PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AND BELLES LETTRES—APPOINTED MINISTER TO RUSSIA.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS returned to the United States from his first foreign embassy, in 1801. During the stormy period of his father's administration, and the ensuing presidential canvass, he was fortunately absent from the country. Had he been at home, his situation would have been one of great delicacy. It can hardly be supposed he would have opposed his father's measures, or his reëlection. Yet to have thrown his influence in their behalf, would have subjected him to the imputation of being moved by filial attachment rather than the convictions of duty. From this painful dilemma, he was saved by his foreign residence. He came home uncommitted to party measures, untrammelled by party tactics or predilections; and thus stood before the people, as he could wish to stand, perfectly unshackled, and ready to act as duty and conscience should direct.

Arriving in the United States with distinguished honors gained by successful foreign diplomacy, Mr.

Adams was not allowed to remain long in inactivity. In 1802, he was elected to the Senate of Massachusetts, from the Boston district. During his services in that body, he gave an indication of that independence, as a politician, which characterized him through life, by his opposition to a powerful combination of banking interest, which was effected among his immediate constituents. Although his opposition was unavailing, yet it [illegible] that the integrity of the man was [illegible] the policy of the mere politician. But [illegible] him.

[illegible] elected to the Senate of the United [illegible] of Massachusetts. Thus at [illegible] years, he had attained to the [illegible] of the Union. Young in years, [illegible] experience, he took his seat [illegible] of the country, to act a part [illegible] the eyes of the nation, both

[illegible] service in the United [illegible] his station and the [illegible] by cotem-[illegible] character. [illegible] his [illegible]

not only affected the interests of the United States, but were added elements to inflame the party contests at home.

In 1804, Bonaparte stepped from the Consul chamber to the throne of the French Empire. All Europe was bending to his giant rule. Great Britain alone, with characteristic and inherent stubbornness, had set itself as a rock against his ambitious aspirations, and prosecuted with unabated vigor its determined hostility to all his measures of trade and of conquest. In November, 1807, the British Government issued the celebrated "Orders in Council," forbidding all trade with France and her allies. This measure was met by Napoleon, in December, with his "Milan Decree," prohibiting every description of commerce with England or her colonies. Between these checks and counterchecks of European nations, the commerce of the United States was in peril of being swept entirely from the ocean.

During most of this perplexed and trying period, Mr. J. Q. Adams retained his seat in the United States Senate. Although sent there by the suffrages of the Federal party, in the Massachusetts Legislature, yet he did not, and would not, act simply as a partisan. This in fact was a prominent characteristic in Mr. Adams throughout his entire life, and is the key which explains many of his acts otherwise inexplicable. His noble and patriotic spirit arose above the shackles of party. He loved the interests of his country, the happiness of

[illegible] more than the measures of a mere party. So far as the party with which he acted advocated measures which he conceived to be wise and healthful, he yielded his hearty and vigorous co-operation. But whenever [illegible] from this line of integrity, his influence was [illegible] the opposite scale. This was the rule of [illegible] No persuasions or emoluments, no [illegible] could turn him from it, to the [illegible] It was in consequence of this char- [illegible] so frequently been said of Mr. [illegible] not a *reliable* party man. This [illegible] true. He was not reliable for any [illegible] to promote party interests, and [illegible] But in regard to all measures which [illegible] advance the welfare of the peo- [illegible] of man, and elevate the race, no [illegible] the world has produced, could [illegible]

[illegible] right, whether with or against [illegible] the first vote he ever gave [illegible] for the Massachusetts [illegible] the dominant party. It [illegible] the whole of [illegible] which had the [illegible] Mr. Adams [illegible]

in the Council of Gov. Strong, and gave his first vote to that measure.

On a certain occasion, Mr. Adams was asked, "What are the recognized principles of politics?" He replied, that there were no *principles* in politics—there were recognized *precepts*, but they were bad ones. But, continued the inquirer, is not this a good one—"To seek the greatest good of the greatest number?" No, said he, that is the worst of all, for it looks specious, while it is ruinous. What shall become of the minority, in that case? This is the only principle to seek—"the greatest good of all."*

A few months after Mr. Adams' entrance into the Senate of the United States, a law was passed by Congress, at the suggestion of Mr. Jefferson, authorizing the purchase of Louisiana. Mr. Adams deemed this measure an encroachment on the Constitution of the United States, and opposed it on the ground of its unconstitutionality. He was one of six senators who voted against it. Yet when the measure had been legally consummated, he yielded it his support. In passing laws for the government of the territory thus obtained, the right of trial by jury was granted only in capital cases. Mr. Adams labored to have it extended to all criminal offences. Before the territory had a representative in Congress, the government proposed to levy a tax on the people for purposes of revenue. This attempt met the decided opposition of Mr. Adams.

* Massachusetts Quarterly, June, 1848.

[illegible] to an exercise of government, [illegible] of the governed, which, to all [illegible]

[illegible] to have Congress pass a law [illegible] the importation of slaves. This was [illegible] of his views on the subject [illegible] a premonition of the bold, unflinching [illegible] against that institution, and of the [illegible] freedom and human rights in the [illegible] characterized the closing scenes [illegible], and which will perpetuate his [illegible] of his life shall have passed from [illegible] although at that early day [illegible] to slavery, yet the young [illegible] with danger to the Union [illegible] power and influence on slave- [illegible] and pernicious, and calcu- [illegible] the tranquillity of the country, [illegible] of our free institutions. [illegible] increase of slave [illegible]

frigate Chesapeake, while near the coast of the United States, on refusing to give up four men claimed to be British subjects, was fired into by the English man-of-war Leopard, and several of her crew killed and wounded. These events caused the greatest excitement in the United States. Petitions, memorials, remonstrances, were poured in upon Congress from every part of the Union. Mr. Jefferson endeavored by embassies, negotiations, and the exertion of every influence in his power, to arrest these destructive proceedings, and obtain a redress of grievances. But all was in vain. At length he determined on an *embargo*, as the only means of securing our commerce from the grasp of the unscrupulous mistress of the seas. An act to that effect was passed in Dec., 1807. This effectually prostrated what little foreign commerce had been left to the United States.

In these proceedings Mr. Jefferson was stoutly opposed by the Federal party. Massachusetts, then the chief commercial State in the Union, resisted with its utmost influence the Embargo Act, as pre-eminently destructive to its welfare, and looked to its Senators and Representatives in Congress to urge an opposition to the extreme. What course should Mr. Adams adopt? On the one hand, personal friendship, the party which elected him to the Senate, the immediate interests of his constituents, called upon him to oppose the measures of the administration. On the other hand, more enlarged considerations presented themselves.

The interest, the honor, the ultimate prosperity of the whole country—its reputation and influence in the eyes of the world—demanded that the Government should be supported in its efforts to check the aggressions of foreign nations, and establish the rights of American citizens. In such an alternative John Quincy Adams could not hesitate. Turning from all other considerations, but a desire to promote the dignity and [illegible] of the Union, he threw himself, without reserve, into the ranks of the administration party, and labored [illegible] the measures of Mr. Jefferson.

[illegible] Mr. Adams to the severest cen- [illegible] charged with basely forsaking his party [illegible] venality—with the low motive [illegible] ambitious longings and selfish [illegible] made these charges in sincerity [illegible] misapprehension of his char- [illegible] At this day, aided by [illegible] of his life, and by a perfect [illegible] and devotion to truth and [illegible] unclean career, [illegible] consideration, [illegible] of [illegible]

votes, it elected another person to take his place in the Senate at the expiration of his term, and passed resolutions instructing its Senators in Congress to oppose the measures of Mr. Jefferson. Mr. Adams could not, consistently with his views of duty, obey these instructions; and having no disposition to represent a body whose confidence he did not retain, he resigned his seat in the Senate, in March, 1808.

Although Mr. Adams gave most of his days to the service of his country, yet he was fond of literary pursuits, and acquired, during his hours of relaxation from sterner duties, a vast fund of classic lore and useful learning. At an early day, he had become distinguished as a ripe scholar, and an impressive, dignified, and eloquent public speaker. His reputation for literary and scholastic attainments quite equalled his fame as a politician and statesman.

In 1804, on the death of President Willard, Mr. Adams was urged by several influential individuals, to be a candidate for the presidency of Cambridge University. He declined the proffered honor. During the following year, however, he was appointed Professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, in that institution. He accepted the office, on condition that he should be allowed to discharge its duties at such times as his services in Congress would permit. His inaugural address, on entering the professorship, was delivered on the 12th of June, 1806. His lectures on rhetoric and oratory were very popular. They were attended

by [illegible] from Boston and the surrounding [illegible] to the collegiate classes—a compli-[illegible] of the professors since his day have [illegible]

[illegible] his connection with the Uni-[illegible] lectures and conducting exercises [illegible] July, 1859. "It was at this time, [illegible] of the younger classes at [illegible] Mr. Adams, and listened to [illegible] voice from the chair of instruc-[illegible] that after the lapse of forty [illegible] voice would be heard, in the [illegible] office. Some who now [illegible] the deep interest with which [illegible] to, not merely by the [illegible] they were prepared, but [illegible] hearers from the neighborhood. [illegible] University; and were, I [illegible] in this country, at [illegible] department of litera-[illegible] in two vol-[illegible] hear a [illegible]

treatise upon a subject which constituted the chief part of the intellectual education of the Greeks and Romans, these lectures, rapidly composed as they were delivered, and not revised by the author before publication, are not to be regarded in the light of a standard performance. But let any statesman or jurist, even of the present day, in America or Europe—whose life, like Mr. Adams's, has been actively passed in professional and political engagements, at home and abroad—attempt, in the leisure of two or thee summers—his mind filled with all the great political topics of the day—to prepare a full course of lectures on any branch of literature, to be delivered to a difficult and scrutinizing, though in part a youthful audience, and then trust them to the ordeal of the press, and he will be prepared to estimate the task which was performed by Mr. Adams."*

Mr. Adams's devotion to literary pursuits was destined to an early termination. On the 4th of March, 1809, Mr. Madison was inducted into the office of President of the United States. It was at that time far from being an enviable position. At home the country was rent into contending factions. Our foreign affairs were in a condition of the utmost perplexity, and evidently approaching a dangerous crisis. The murky clouds of war, which had for years overshadowed Europe, seemed rolling hitherward, filling the most sanguine and hopeful

* Edward Everett's Eulogy on the Life and Character of John Quincy Adams.

[illegible] with deep apprehension. Russia, under its [illegible] Emperor Alexander, was rising to a prominent and influential position among the nations of Europe. Mr. Madison deemed it of great importance that the United States should be represented at that court by some individual eminent alike for talents, experience, and influence. John Quincy Adams was [illegible] for the mission. In March, 1809, he was [illegible] Minister to Russia, and the summer following [illegible] St. Petersburgh.

[illegible], our relations with Great Britain [illegible] more dubious. While striving, in [illegible] manner, to come to terms of recon[illegible] Madison was making rapid prepar[illegible] people of the United States, de[illegible] discourse act of the cheap pro[illegible] to turn their attention and [illegible] manufactures. At length the [illegible] intimated peremptorily, that [illegible] Britain and France on our [illegible] was being the alter[illegible] Emperor gave satis[illegible] should be [illegible] 6 the act

much to inflame and widen the existing differences. An English sloop-of-war, the Little Belt, commanded by Capt. Bingham, descried a ship off the American coast, and made sail to come up with it; but finding it a frigate, and dubious of its nation, he retired. The other, which proved to be American, the President, under Capt. Rogers, pursued in turn. Both captains hailed nearly together; and both, instead of replying, hailed again; and from words, as it were, came to blows, without explanation. Capt. Bingham lost upwards of thirty men, and his ship suffered severely. A Court of Inquiry was ordered on the conduct of Capt. Rogers, which decided that it had been satisfactorily proved to the court, that Capt. Rogers hailed the Little Belt first, that his hail was not satisfactorily answered, that the Little Belt fired the first gun, and that it was without previous provocation or justifiable cause."*

Several attempts were made after this, to preserve the peace of the two countries, but in vain. England, it is true, withdrew her obnoxious Orders in Council. It was, however, too late. Before intelligence of this repeal reached the shores of the United States, war was declared by Congress, on the 18th of June, 1812.

It was a popular war. Although strenuously opposed by portions of the Eastern States, as destructive to their commerce, yet with the mass of the people throughout the Union, it was deemed justifiable and

* Lives of the Presidents.

indispensable. A long series of insults and injuries on the part of Great Britain—the seizure and confiscation of our ships and cargoes; the impressing of our seamen, under circumstances of the most irritating description; and the adoption of numerous measures to the injury of our interests—had fully prepared the public mind in the United States, with the exception of a [illegible], to enter upon this war with zeal and [illegible]

[illegible] reverses, general success attended [illegible] direction. On land and on sea, [illegible] led to victory. The combatants [illegible] each other. Of the same original [illegible] stern, unyielding material—their [illegible] and destructive in the extreme. [illegible], inspirited by a sense of wrongs [illegible] justness of its cause, bore away [illegible] from the brow of its more aged [illegible] yet green from the ensan- [illegible] scores of hotly-contested [illegible] as it was to cower be- [illegible] to "lick the dust" in defeat. [illegible] Fort Erie, at Lundy's Lane, [illegible] on Lake Erie, on [illegible] and the world were [illegible] and energy.

unquestionably, highly beneficial to the United States. It convinced all doubters that our government was abundantly able to resent aggressions, and to maintain its rights against the assaults of any nation on earth. This reputation has been of great service in protecting our commerce, and commanding respect for our flag, throughout the world. But the chief benefit of the war was the development of our internal resources, which, after all, form the great fountain of the wealth, strength, and permanence of a nation. Deprived by the embargo, the non-intercourse act, and the ensuing hostilities, of all foreign importation of goods, the American people were compelled to supply themselves by their own industry and ingenuity, with those articles for which they had always before been dependent on their transatlantic neighbors. Thus was laid the foundation of that system of domestic manufactures which is destined to make the United States the greatest productive mart among men, and to bring into its lap the wealth of the world.

CHAPTER V.

[illegible] ARRIVAL AT ST. PETERSBURG—HIS LETTERS TO HIS [illegible]—HIS RELIGIOUS OPINIONS—RUSSIA OF- [illegible] GREAT BRITAIN AND THE UNITED [illegible] TO NEGOTIATE FOR PEACE— [illegible] MINISTER AT ST. JAMES—ARRIVES [illegible]

[illegible] at St. Petersburg, as Minister [illegible] the United States, in the autumn [illegible] years before, while a lad of [illegible] place, as private secre- [illegible] Minister. The prom- [illegible] capital a mixture [illegible] politics, and pre- [illegible] in the highest walks of [illegible] Washington [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible]

great influence upon the affairs of the world. Mr. Adams was received with marked respect at the Court of St. Petersburg. His familiarity with the French and German languages—the former the diplomatic language of Europe—his literary acquirements, his perfect knowledge of the political relations of the civilized world, his plain appearance, and republican simplicity of manners, in the midst of the gorgeous embassies of other nations, enabled him to make a striking and favorable impression on the Emperor Alexander and his Court. The Emperor, charmed by his varied qualities, admitted him to terms of personal intimacy seldom granted to the most favored individuals.

During his residence in Russia, the death of Judge Cushing caused a vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court of the United States. President Madison nominated Mr. Adams to the distinguished office. The nomination was confirmed by the Senate, but he declined its acceptance.

A circumstance occurred at this time, which attracted the attention of Mr. Adams. The Russian Minister of the Interior, then advanced in years, having received many valuable presents while in office, became troubled with scruples of conscience, in regard to the disposal he should make of them. He at length calculated the value of all his gifts, and paid the sum into the imperial treasury. This transaction made a deep impression on Mr. Adams, and probably led him to the

[illegible] gifts. In order to act [illegible] which he deemed indispen- [illegible] faithful discharge of public duty, he en- [illegible] as far as possible, laying himself [illegible] any man. When a certain book- [illegible] elegant copy of the Scriptures, [illegible] returned its full equivalent in [illegible]

[illegible] St. Petersburg, Mr. Adams [illegible] to a son at school in Massa- [illegible] the Bible, and the importance [illegible] his decease they have been [illegible] entitled "Letters of John [illegible] on the Bible and its teach- [illegible] the inculcation of a love and [illegible] scripture, and a delight in [illegible] throughout his long life, [illegible] daily and devout reader of [illegible] observing and com- [illegible] which he [illegible]

country's most gifted and illustrious sons. The intrinsic value of these letters, their familiar and lucid style, their profound and comprehensive views, their candid and reverent spirit, must win for them a large measure of the public attention and esteem. But, apart from even this, the testimony so unconsciously borne by their pure-minded and profoundly learned author, to the truth and excellence of the Christian faith and records, will not be lightly regarded. It is no slight testimonial to the verity and worth of Christianity, that in all ages since its promulgation, the great mass of those who have risen to eminence by their profound wisdom, integrity, and philanthropy, have recognized and reverenced, in Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of the living God. To the names of Augustine, Xavier, Fenelon, Milton, Newton, Locke, Lavater, Howard, Chateaubriand, and their thousands of compeers in Christian faith, among the world's wisest and noblest, it is not without pride that the American may add, from among his countrymen, those of such men as WASHINGTON, JAY, PATRICK HENRY, and JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.*

Mr. Adams was a practical Christian. This is proved by his spotless life, his strict honesty and integrity, his devotion to duty, his faithful obedience to the dictates of conscience, at whatever sacrifice, his reverence of God, of Christ, his respect for religion and its institutions, and recognition of its claims and requirements.

* Preface to "Letters of John Quincy Adams to his Son, on Religion and its Evidences."

[illegible] Unitarian in his belief of doc[illegible] sectarian. In religion, as in [illegible] independent of parties. He would [illegible] sect in such manner as to prevent [illegible] his countenance and assistance [illegible] proper. He was a frequent [illegible] and Episcopalian churches, [illegible] contributions to these and other [illegible] being his great desire to aid in [illegible] and not a sect.

[illegible] Mr. Adams had obtained at [illegible] Emperor and his Court, was [illegible] It laid the foundation of [illegible] which have ever character[illegible] that government with the [illegible] also, is unquestionably [illegible] by the Emperor Alexander, [illegible] Britain and the United [illegible] supported by the American [illegible] for concession with [illegible] by the [illegible] The [illegible] Russia in [illegible] of the [illegible]

under the mediation of Russia; but proposed at the same time to meet American Commissioners either at London or Gottenburg. Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard withdrew from St. Petersburg in January, 1814, leaving Mr. Adams in the discharge of his duties as resident Minister.

The proposition of the British Ministry to negotiate for peace, at London or Gottenburg, was accepted by the United States. Mr. Adams and Messrs. Bayard, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin, were appointed Commissioners, and directed to proceed to Gottenburg for that purpose. Mr. Adams received his instructions in April, 1814; and as soon as preparations for departure could be made, took passage for Stockholm. After repeated delays, on account of the difficulties of navigation at that early season in the northern seas, he arrived at that city on the 25th of May. Learning there that the place for the meeting of the Commissioners had been changed to Ghent, in Belgium, Mr. Adams proceeded to Gottenburg. From thence he embarked on board an American sloop-of-war, which had conveyed Messrs. Clay and Russell from the United States, and landing at Texel, proceeded immediately to Ghent, where he arrived on the 24th of June.

In the ensuing negotiation, Mr. Adams was placed at the head of the American Commissioners. They were men of unsurpassed talents and skill, in whose hands neither the welfare nor the honor of the United States could suffer. In conducting this negotiation

they exhibited an ability, a tact, an understanding of international law, and a knowledge of the best interests of their country, which attracted the favorable attention both of Europe and America. Their "Notes" with the British Commissioners, exhibited a dignified firmness and equal moderation, with a power of argument, and force of reasoning, which highly elevated their reputation and that of their country, in the estimation of the [illegible] statesmen. The Marquis of Wellesley [illegible] the British House of Lords, that, "in his [illegible] American Commissioners had shown the [illegible] superiority over the British, during [illegible] correspondence." Their despatches [illegible] home, describing and explaining [illegible] negotiation in its several stages, [illegible] to the people of the United [illegible] in the public prints, that they [illegible] the Union as ably at Ghent as [illegible] of its defenders had been [illegible] the waters, and its troops [illegible] "Wellington's Invincibles." A [illegible] of [illegible] belongs to Mr. [illegible] foreign affairs, [illegible] acknowledged [illegible] to [illegible]

they were unanimously elected members of the institution, and were invited to attend and unite in the exercises of the occasion. An oration on the objects of the institution was delivered. In the evening, a sumptuous banquet was served up to a numerous company. After the removal of the cloth, among the toasts given, was the following, by the Intendant of Ghent:—

"Our distinguished guests and fellow-members, the American Ministers: May they succeed in making an honorable peace, to secure the liberty and independence of their country."

This sentiment was received with immense applause. The band struck up "Hail Columbia," and the company was filled with enthusiasm. It was some minutes before the tumult sufficiently subsided to admit of a response. Mr. Adams then arose, and, in behalf of the American Legation, returned thanks for the very flattering manner in which they had been treated by the municipality of Ghent, and particularly for the unexpected honor conferred upon them by the Academy. After making some pertinent remarks on the importance and usefulness of the Fine Arts, he concluded by offering as a toast—"The Intendant of the city of Ghent."

The British Commissioners were Lord Gambier, Henry Goulburn, and Wm. Adams. The negotiations opened dubiously. The demands of the British Ministers were at first of such a character, that it was impossible to comply with them, with any regard to the honor or welfare of the United States. They intimated that the line separating the United States should

[illegible] on the southern borders of all the lakes from Ontario to Superior—that the American Government should keep no armed force on these lakes, [illegible] military posts on their borders, while [illegible] should have the privilege of establishing [illegible] they thought proper, on the [illegible] of the lakes and connecting rivers, and [illegible] their waters—that a large part [illegible] should be relinquished and ceded [illegible] a direct route of communication [illegible] Quebec—that the right of search [illegible] British ships-of-war—together [illegible] equally unacceptable.

[illegible] American Commissioners to the [illegible] in the early stages of the pro[illegible] in desponding tones. They [illegible] that no terms of peace could be [illegible] the demands of the English Plenipotentiaries [illegible] so decided, and [illegible] so cogent and [illegible] compelled to retain [illegible] hourly risk of foreign [illegible]

The announcement of this event, at Ghent, was in a manner somewhat peculiar. Mr. Todd, one of the Secretaries of the American Commissioners, and son-in-law of President Madison, had invited several gentlemen, Americans and others, to take refreshments with him on the 24th of December. At noon, after having spent some time in pleasant conversation, the refreshments entered, and Mr. Todd said,—"It is 12 o'clock. Well, gentlemen, I announce to you that peace has been made and signed between America and England." In a few moments, Messrs. Gallatin, Clay, Carroll and Hughes entered, and confirmed the annunciation. This intelligence was received with a burst of joy by all present. The news soon spread through the town, and gave general satisfaction to the citizens.

At Paris, the intelligence was hailed with acclamations. In the evening the theatres resounded with cries of "God save the Americans."

In the United States the news of peace spread with the speed of the wind. Everywhere it excited the most lively emotions of joy. Processions, orations, bonfires, illuminations, attested the gratification of the people, and showed that, notwithstanding the general success which had attended our arms, they viewed peace as one of the highest blessings a nation can enjoy.

Recognizing in this important event the hand of a wise and gracious overruling Providence, the hearts of a great Christian nation turned in gratitude towards

[illegible] President Madison issued the following proclamation for a day of thanksgiving:—

"The Senate and House of Representatives of the United States have, by a joint resolution, signified their desire that a day may be recommended, to be observed by the people of the United States with religious solemnity, as a day of thanksgiving and of devout acknowledgments to Almighty God, for his great goodness manifested in restoring to them the blessings of peace.

"[illegible] ought to feel greater obligations to celebrate the goodness of the Great Disposer of events, and the destiny of nations, than the people of the United States. His kind providence originally conducted them to the best portions of the dwelling-place of this great family of the human race. [illegible] guided them under all the difficulties to which they were exposed in their infancy; fostering care, their habits, [illegible] prepared them for a state of independence and [illegible] which it [illegible] established, [illegible] their strength [illegible]

reconciliation with those who have been our enemies And to the same Divine Author of every good and perfect gift we are indebted for all those privileges and advantages, religious as well as civil, which are so richly enjoyed in this favored land.

"It is for blessings such as these, and more especially for the restoration of the blessings of peace, that I now recommend that the second Thursday in April next, be set apart as a day on which the people of every religious denomination may in their solemn assemblies unite their hearts and their voices, in a free-will offering, to their Heavenly Benefactor, of their homage of thanksgiving and their songs of praise."

Before leaving Ghent, the American Commissioners gave a public dinner to the British Ambassadors, at which the Intendant of Ghent, and numerous staff officers of the Hanoverian service, were present. Everything indicated that the most perfect reconciliation had taken place between the two nations. Lord Gambier had arisen to give, as the first toast, "The United States of North America," but he was prevented by the courtesy of Mr. Adams, who gave "His Majesty, the King of England"—on which the music struck up "God save the King." Lord Gambier gave as the second toast, "The United States of North America," and the music played "Hail Columbia." Count Mr. Von Steinhuyer presented as a toast—"The Plenipotentiaries of the States—May their union contribute to the happiness of the Department which is confided to my

[illegible] may their Excellencies communicate to [illegible] the lively interest which those [illegible] for their reconciliation." Mr. Adams and [illegible] both begged the Intendant to certify to [illegible] the gratitude of the Ministers, for [illegible] which the inhabitants had shown them during their [illegible] in their midst.

[illegible] their labors at Ghent by signing [illegible] Mr. Adams, together with Messrs. [illegible] and Henry Clay, was directed to pro[illegible] for the purpose of entering into nego[illegible] of commerce with Great Britain. [illegible] Mr. Adams visited Paris, [illegible] of Napoleon from Elba, [illegible] during the Hundred Days. [illegible] March, 1815, by his family, [illegible] journey from St. Petersburg [illegible]

[illegible] Adams lived in London [illegible] Clay, who had already [illegible]

two countries, to the present time. At the conclusion of these negotiations, Messrs. Gallatin and Clay returned to the United States, and Mr. Adams remained in London, in his capacity as resident Minister.

Thus had the prediction of Washington been fulfilled. In "as short a time as could well be expected," John Quincy Adams, as the well-merited reward of faithful services, had attained to the head of the Diplomatic Corps of the United States. His career had been singularly successful; and his elevation to the highest foreign stations received the general approbation of his countrymen. His simple habits, his plain appearance, his untiring industry, his richly stored mind, his unbending integrity, his general intercourse and correspondence with foreign courts and diplomatists of the greatest distinction, all tended to elevate, in a high degree, the American character, in the estimation of European nations.

The impression he made in the most eminent circles during his residence in London, as a statesman of unsurpassed general information, and critical knowledge of the politics of the world, was retained for years afterwards. Mr. Rush, who was subsequently Minister to Great Britain, in an account of a dinner party at Lord Castlereagh's, notes a corroborating incident: "At table, I had on my left the Saxon Minister, Baron Just. * * * * * * He inquired of me for Mr. Adams, whom he had known well, and of whom he spoke

[illegible] and that she knew the politics of all Eu-
[illegible] said he to [illegible]

[illegible] while Mr. Adams was Minister of the United States in London, that it was my personal good fortune to be admitted to his intimacy and friendship. Being then in London on private business, and having some previous acquaintance with Mr. Adams, I found in his house as ever kind welcome, and in his [illegible] conversation unfailing attraction and [illegible] Accustomed as he had been from ear- [illegible] society of the most eminent persons [illegible] station and in ability, Mr. Adams [illegible] simplicity of his own habits and [illegible] exterior of, at times, almost [illegible] heart as warm, sympathies [illegible] overflowing, as ever ani- [illegible] tastes, too, were all refined, [illegible] familiar and dear to him, and [illegible] at once so agreeable [illegible] I have [illegible]

in German, in Italian, not less than in English—he could draw at will from the wealth of all these tongues to illustrate any particular topic, or to explain any apparent difficulty. There was no literary work of merit in any of these languages, of which he could not render a satisfactory account; there was no fine painting or statue, of which he did not know the details and the history; there was not even an opera, or a celebrated musical composer, of which or of whom he could not point out the distinguishing merits and the chief compositions. Yet he was a hard-working, assiduous man of business, in his particular vocation, and a more regular, punctual, comprehensive, voluminous diplomatic correspondence than his no country can probably boast of; and it is thought the more necessary to note this fact, because sometimes an opinion prevails that graver pursuits must necessarily exclude attention to what used to be called the "humanities" of education—those ornamental and graceful acquirements, which, as Mr. Adams well proved, not only are not inconsistent with, but greatly adorn, the weightier matters of the law and of diplomacy. I could dwell with much satisfaction upon the memory and incidents of the days to which I am now adverting, but am admonished, by the length to which these remarks have already extended, that I may not indulge

* Eulogy on John Quincy Adams, by Charles King.

CHAPTER VI.

MR. ADAMS APPOINTED SECRETARY OF STATE—ARRIVES IN THE UNITED STATES—PUBLIC DINNERS IN NEW YORK AND [illegible]—[illegible] OF HIS RESIDENCE IN WASHINGTON—DE[illegible] GEN. JACKSON IN THE FLORIDA INVASION—RECOG[illegible] OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE—GREEK REV[illegible]

[illegible] after serving his country eight [illegible] in a most perilous period of its [illegible] life, followed by the respect [illegible] of the United States. He [illegible] Monroe, who was inaugurated [illegible]

[illegible] politician, of great moderation. [illegible] the presidency, to heal [illegible] which had distracted the [illegible] of its government, [illegible] political parties. [illegible] of this [illegible]

"Everything depends on the selection of your ministry. In every selection, party and party feeling should be avoided. Now is the time to exterminate that *monster*, called party spirit. By selecting characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity, and firmness, without any regard to party, you will go far, if not entirely, to eradicate those feelings, which on former occasions, threw so many obstacles in the way of government, and, perhaps, have the pleasure and honor of uniting a people heretofore politically divided. The Chief Magistrate of a great and powerful nation, should never indulge in party feelings."

Admirable advice! Sentiments worthy an exalted American statesman! The President of a vast Republic, should indeed know nothing of the interest of party in contradistinction to the interest of the whole people; and should exercise his power, his patronage, and his influence, not to strengthen factions, and promote the designs of political demagogues, but to develop and nourish internal resources, the only sinews of national prosperity, and diffuse abroad sentiments of true patriotism, liberality, and philanthropy. No suggestions more admirable could have been made by Gen. Jackson, and none could have been more worthy the consideration of Mr. Monroe and his successors in the presidential chair.

In carrying out his plans of conciliation, President Monroe selected John Quincy Adams for the responsible post of Secretary of State. Mr. Adams had never been an active partizan. In his career as Senator, both in Massachusetts and in Washington, during Mr. Jefferson's administration, he had satisfactorily demonstrated his ability to rise above party considera-

tions in the discharge of great and important duties. And his long absence from the country had kept him free from personal, party, and sectional bias, and peculiarly fitted him to take the first station in the cabinet of a President aiming to unite his countrymen in fraternal bonds of political amity.

Referring to this appointment, Mr. Monroe wrote Gen. Jackson as follows, under date of March 1, 1817: "I shall take a person for the Department of State from the eastward; and Mr. Adams, by long service in our diplomatic concerns appearing to be [illegible] preference, supported by his ac[illegible] and integrity, his nomination will [illegible]." Gen. Jackson, in his reply, re[illegible] hesitation in saying you have [illegible] to fill the Department of State [illegible] Mr. Adams, in the hour of diffi[illegible] helpmate, and I am convinced [illegible] general satisfaction." This [illegible] consummate ability [illegible] designs, suggestions and [illegible] of his [illegible] State Department [illegible] throughout [illegible]

Washington, and landed in New York on the [illegible] of August, 1817.

A few days after his arrival, a public dinner was given Mr. Adams, in Tammany Hall, New York. The room was elegantly decorated. In the centre was a handsome circle of oak leaves, roses, and flags—the whole representing, with much effect, our happy Union—and from the centre of which, as from her native woods, appeared our eagle, beating in her beak this impressive scroll:—

> "Columbia, great Republic, thou art blest,
> While Empires droop, and Monarchs sink to rest."

Gov. De Witt Clinton, the Mayor of New York, and about two hundred citizens of the highest respectability, sat down to the table. Among other speeches made on the occasion, was the following from an English gentleman, a Mr. Fearon, of London:—

"As several gentlemen have volunteered [illegible], I would beg leave to offer a sentiment, which I [illegible] will meet the hearty concurrence of all present [illegible] previous to which, I desire to express the high [illegible] tion which this day's entertainment has [illegible] Though a native of Great Britain, and but a [illegible] in the United States, I am for the first time in [illegible] in a free country, surrounded by free men; and [illegible] I look at the inscription which decorates your [illegible] rejoice that I have been destined to see this [illegible] great number of the enlightened portion of my [illegible]

[illegible] your cause—admire your principles. And though we have, unfortunately, been engaged in [illegible] result has taught wisdom to both [illegible] political institutions you have set a [illegible] which, if followed throughout the [illegible] mankind from the dominion of those [illegible] at the destruction which they pro-[illegible]

'[illegible] on the blasted heath,
[illegible] destruction.'

[illegible] conclusion, I beg to express the [illegible] and propose to you as a toast—[illegible] States be an example to the world; [illegible] religious liberty cover the earth, as [illegible] of the deep."

[illegible] given Mr. Adams on his [illegible] Mr. Gray, presided, and Messrs. [illegible] acted as Vice Presidents. [illegible] President John Adams [illegible]

to the patriarch John Adams, then more than fourscore years of age. Nearly forty years before, he had said of his son:—"He behaves like a man!" That son, in the prime of his days, had recently been called from foreign service, where he had obtained accumulated honors, to fill the highest station in the gift of the Executive of his country. The people of two continents would now unite with the venerable sage, in repeating the declaration—"He behaves like a man!" The patriarch stood upon the verge of the grave. But as the sun of his existence was gently and calmly sinking beneath the horizon, lo! its beams were reflected in their pristine brightness by another orb, born from its bosom, which was steadily ascending to the zenith of earthly fame!

John Quincy Adams took up his residence at Washington, and entered upon his duties as Secretary of State, in September, 1817.

During the eight years of President Monroe's administration, Mr. Adams discharged the duties of the state department, with a fidelity and success which received not only the unqualified approbation of the President, but of the whole country. To him that office was no *sinecure*. His labors were incessant. He spared no pains to qualify himself to discuss, with consummate skill, whatever topics legitimately claimed his attention. The President, the cabinet, the people, reposed implicit trust in his ability to promote the interests of the nation in all matters of diplomacy, and confided [illegible]

[illegible] American feelings and love of country, [illegible] familiar as he was with the politi[illegible] of the world, Mr. Monroe entrusted him, [illegible] with the management of the foreign [illegible] government, during his administration.

In the [illegible] of 1817, the Seminole and a portion of the [illegible] Indians commenced depredations on the [illegible] Georgia and Alabama. Troops were sent [illegible] under Gen. Gaines. His force being [illegible] them to subjection, Gen. Jackson [illegible] the field with a more numerous [illegible] overran the Indian country. Be[illegible] to enter Florida, then a Spanish [illegible] effectual subjugation of the In[illegible] to pursue them thither. The [illegible] against the invasion of [illegible] some opposition. Gen. Jack[illegible] took possession of St. [illegible] the Spanish authorities [illegible] in this expedition, were [illegible] Arbuthnot [illegible]

These transactions of Gen. Jackson caused great excitement throughout the United States, and subjected him to no little blame. The subject excited much debate in Congress. A resolution censuring him for his summary proceedings was introduced, but voted down by a large majority. In Mr. Monroe's cabinet, there was a strong feeling against Gen. Jackson. The President, and all the members, with a single exception, were disposed to hold him responsible for having transcended his orders. Hon. Wm. H. Crawford, who was in Mr. Monroe's cabinet at that time, in a letter to Mr. Forsyth, says:—"Mr. Calhoun's proposition in the cabinet was, that Gen. Jackson should be punished in some form, or reprimanded in some form."

Mr. Adams alone vindicated Gen. Jackson. He insisted that inasmuch as the Government had ordered him to pursue the enemy into Florida, if necessary, they were responsible for the acts of the American general, in the exercise of the discretionary power with which he had been clothed. Several cabinet meetings were held on the subject, in July, 1818, in which the whole matter was thoroughly discussed. Mr. Adams succeeded at length in bringing the President into the adoption of his views, which Mr. Monroe substantially embodied in his next annual message to Congress.

The intelligence of the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, excited the highest indignation in England. The people viewed it as a violation of the rights of British subjects, and an insult to their national honor.

[illegible] Lord Castlereagh declared to [illegible] American Minister, that had the English [illegible] a finger, war would have been declared against the United States. But so able and [illegible] arguments which Mr. Adams [illegible] to lay before the British Ministers, in [illegible] proceedings of Gen. Jackson, that [illegible] there was no just cause of war [illegible], and exerted their influence [illegible] in that direction.

[illegible] February, 1819, a treaty was con- [illegible] between the United States and [illegible] West Florida, with the ad- [illegible] to the Union. The negotia- [illegible] consummation of the treaty, [illegible] Adams and Luis de Onis the [illegible] This treaty was very advanta- [illegible] to a close a [illegible] standing which [illegible]

United States, and of advocating it with unsurpassed eloquence and zeal, belongs to the patriotic Henry Clay. Mainly by his influence, the House of Representatives, in 1820, passed the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That the House of Representatives participate with the people of the United States, in the deep interest which they feel for the success of the Spanish Provinces of South America, which are struggling to establish their liberty and independence.

"Resolved, That this House will give its constitutional support to the President of the United States, whenever he may deem it expedient to recognize the sovereignty and independence of any of said Provinces."

Mr. Adams at first hesitated on this subject. Not that he was opposed to the diffusion of the blessings of freedom to the oppressed. No man was a more ardent lover of liberty, or was more anxious that its institutions should be established throughout the earth, at the earliest practicable moment. But he had many and serious doubts whether the people of the South American Provinces were capable of originating and maintaining an enlightened self-government. There was a lack of general intelligence among the people—a want of an enlarged and enlightened understanding of the principles of rational freedom—which led him to apprehend that their attempts at self-government would for a long season, at least, result in the reign of faction and anarchy, rather than true republican principles. The subsequent history of these countries—the [illegible] and contentions, the revolutions and counter-revolutions, which have rent them asunder, [illegible]

[illegible] knew that Mr. Adams but exer-
[illegible] intelligence in entertaining these
[illegible] as they had succeeded in throw-
[illegible] Spanish yoke, and had, in fact, achieved
[illegible] Mr. Adams would not throw any
[illegible] their way. Trusting that his fears as
[illegible] for self-government might be ground-
[illegible] influence to the recognizing of their
[illegible] United States.

[illegible] Greek revolution broke out. The peo-
[illegible] after enduring ages of the most
[illegible] oppression from the Turks,
[illegible] the chains of the Ottoman
[illegible] attempt. The war was long,
[illegible] resulted in the emancipa-
[illegible] establishment of its independ-
[illegible]

[illegible] United States could not wit-
[illegible] A spirit of
[illegible] the land,
[illegible] problems
[illegible] pro-

triots. Many citizens of the United States, when the first blast of the trumpet of liberty rang along the Ionian seas, and through the Peloponnesus, sped across the ocean, and, throwing themselves into the midst of the Grecian hosts, contended heroically for their emancipation. Among these volunteers, was Col. J. P. Miller, of Vermont, who not only gallantly fought in the battles of Greece, but was greatly serviceable in conveying supplies from the United States to that struggling people.

The deep sympathy which prevailed in every section of the Union, was soon felt in Congress. Many public men were anxious that the Government should take some important and decisive step, even to hostilities, in behalf of Greece. Eloquent speeches were delivered in the House of Representatives on the exciting topic. Mr. Clay electrified the country with his stirring appeals in behalf of the land in which was established the first republic on earth. Mr. Webster submitted the following resolution to the House of Representatives:—

"Resolved, That provision ought to be made by law, for defraying the expense incident to the appointment of an Agent or Commissioner, to Greece, whenever the President shall deem it expedient to make such appointment."

In support of this resolution, Mr. Webster [illegible] most eloquent speech, of which the following [illegible] conclusion:—

"Mr. Chairman—There are some things [illegible] well done, must be promptly done; if we [illegible]

[illegible] to do the thing that is now proposed, we may do it too late. Sir, I am not of those who are for withholding aid when it is most urgently needed, and when the stress is past, and the aid no longer necessary, overwhelming the sufferers with caresses. I will not stand by [illegible] my fellow-man drowning, without stretching [illegible] to help him, till he has, by his own [illegible] and presence of mind, reached the shore in safety, and then encumber him with aid. With suffering [illegible] in the crisis of her fate—her great, it [illegible] struggle. Sir, while we sit here de[illegible] may be decided. The Greeks, [illegible] ruthless oppressors, turn their eyes to [illegible] their ancestors, by their slaugh[illegible] by their own blood poured [illegible] hecatombs of dead they have [illegible] to heaven; they invoke, they [illegible] cheering sound, some look of [illegible] compassionate regard. They [illegible] Republic of the earth—and they [illegible] forget [illegible] they still [illegible] for myself, sir, [illegible]

flect, with the most heartfelt satisfaction, that I have asked you, in the name of seven millions of freemen, that you would give them, at least, the cheering of one friendly voice."

The committee having in charge the raising of a fund for the assistance of the Greeks, in New York, addressed a circular to the venerable ex-President John Adams, to which they received the following reply:—

"*Quincy, Dec. 20, 1822.*

"GENTLEMEN:—I have received your circular of the 12th inst., and I thank you for the honor you have done me in addressing it to me. Be assured my heart beats in unison with yours, and with those of your constituents, and I presume with all the really civilized part of mankind, in sympathy with the Greeks, suffering, as they are, in the great cause of liberty and humanity. The gentlemen of Boston have taken measures to procure a general subscription in their favor, through the State, and I shall contribute my mite with great pleasure. In the meantime I wish you, and all other gentlemen engaged in the virtuous work, all the success you or they can wish; for I believe no effort in favor of virtue will be ultimately lost.

"I have the honor to be, Gentlemen, your very humble servant,

"JOHN ADAMS."

The sympathies of John Quincy Adams were evidently enlisted in behalf of the Greek Revolution. But with a prudence and wisdom which characterized all his acts, he threw his influence against any direct interference on the part of the Government of the United States. It would have been a departure from that neutral policy, in regard to European conflicts, to which the country had acted from the commencement of our national existence, alike injurious and dangerous.

He knew, if he should entered into these wars, on any pretext whatever, a door would be opened for foreign entanglements and endless conflicts, which would result in standing armies, immense national debts, and the long train of evils of which they are the prolific source.

When an application was made to Mr. Adams, as Secretary of State, through Mr. Rush, our Minister at London, by an agent of Greece, for aid from the United States, he was compelled, on principles above [illegible] to withhold the required assistance. The correspondence which grew out of this application is suf[illegible] to find a place in these pages:—

[illegible] Study of the Provisional Government of [illegible] Quincy Adams, Secretary of State to [illegible]

[illegible] while, in behalf of Greece, my [illegible] and liberty, I address myself [illegible]

[illegible] contest, you have achieved. [illegible] which environ relationship, you have ob[illegible]

claim is on our gratitude and our affection. May I hope that some means may be found to communicate these our feelings, of which I am so proud to be the organ? We will still venture to rely on their friendship. We would look to their individual, if not to their national, co-operation. Every, the slightest, assistance under present circumstances, will aid the progress of the great work of liberty; and if, standing, as we have stood, alone and unsupported, with everything opposed to us, and nothing to encourage us but patriotism, enthusiasm, and sometimes even despair: if thus we have gone forward, liberating our provinces, one after another, and subduing every force which has been directed against us, what may we not do with the assistance for which we venture to appeal to the generous and the free?

"Precipitated by circumstances into that struggle for independence, which, ever since the domination of our cruel and reckless tyrants, had never ceased to be the object of our vows and prayers, we have, by the blessing of God, freed a considerable part of Greece from the ruthless invaders. The Peloponnesus, Etolia, Carmania, Attica, Phocida, Boetia, and the Islands of the Archipelago and Candia, are nearly free. The armies and the fleets which have been sent against us, have been subdued by the valor of our troops and our marine. Meanwhile we have organized a government, founded upon popular suffrages: and you will probably have seen how closely our organic law assimilates to that constitution under which your nation so happily and so securely lives.

"I have been sent hither by the government of Greece, to obtain assistance in our determined enterprize, on which we, like you, have staked our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor: and I believe my journey has not been wholly without success. I should have been wanting to my duty had I not addressed you, supplicating, at earliest display of your amiable purposes; entreating that diplomatic relations may be established between us; communicating the most earnest desire of my government that we may be allied, or call you allies as well as friends; and stating that we shall be ready to enter upon discussions which may lead to immediate and advantageous treaties, and to receive diplomatic agents without delay. Both at Madrid and at Lisbon, I have been received with generosity by the American Representative, and am pleased [illegible] expression of my gratitude.

"Though, fortunately, you are so far removed, and raised so much above the turbulent politics of Europe as to be little influenced by their vicissitudes, I venture to believe that Mr. Rush will explain to you the changes which have taken place, and are still in action around us in consequence. And I conclude, rejoicing in the hope that Spain, Portugal and Greece may be united in the bonds of long-enduring, inalienable concord: and have the honor to be, with every sentiment of respect, your obedient humble servant.

"ANT. LURIOTTIS.

"Leghorn, February 20, 1823."

MR. ADAMS TO MR. RUSH.

"*Department of State,*
Washington, 18th August, 1823.

[illegible] honor of inclosing, herewith, an answer to [illegible], the Agent of the Greeks addressed [illegible] transmitted with your dispatch [illegible]

[illegible] letter, Mr. Luriottis should still be [illegible] that you should deliver it to him in [illegible] remarks and explanations as may [illegible] representations, that, in declining the [illegible] to the cause of Grecian emancipation, [illegible] United States has been governed [illegible] of indifference to the cause, [illegible]

other nations, whether foreign or domestic, has adhered, the unvarying law of the United States has been peace with both belligerents. From the first war of the French Revolution, to the recent invasion of Spain, there has been a succession of wars, national and civil, in almost every one of which one of the parties was contending for liberty or independence. In the first French revolutionary war, a strong impulse of feeling urged the people of the United States to take side with the party which, at its commencement, was contending, apparently, at least, for both. Had the policy of the United States not been essentially pacific, a stronger case to claim their interference could scarcely have been presented. They nevertheless declared themselves neutral, and the principle, then deliberately settled, has been invariably adhered to ever since.

"With regard to the recognition of sovereign States, and the establishment with them of a diplomatic intercourse, the experience of the last thirty years has served also to ascertain the limits proper for the application of principles in which every nation must exercise some latitude of discretion. Precluded by their neutral position from interfering in the question of right, the United States have recognized the *fact* of foreign sovereignty only when it was undisputed, or disputed without any rational prospect of success. In this manner the successive changes of government in many of the European states, and the revolutionary governments of South America, have been acknowledged. The condition of the Greeks is not yet such as will admit of their recognition, upon these principles.

"Yet, as we cherish the most friendly feelings towards them, and are sincerely disposed to render them any service which may be compatible with our neutrality, it will give us pleasure to learn, from time to time, the actual state of their cause, political and military. Should Mr. Luriottis be enabled and disposed to furnish this information, it may always be communicated through you, and will be received with satisfaction here. The public accounts from that quarter have been of late very scanty, and we shall be glad to obtain any authentic particulars, which may come to your knowledge from this, or through any other channel.

"I am with great respect, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant, [illegible] JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

[illegible]

MR. ADAMS TO MR. LUMOTTE.

Department of State,
Washington, 18th August, 1823.

"Sir: A copy of the letter which you did me the honor of addressing to me, on the 20th of February last, has been transmitted to the Minister of the United States at London, and has received the deliberate consideration of the President of the United States.

"The sentiments with which he has witnessed the struggles of your fellow-citizens for their national emancipation and independence, have been made manifest to the world in a public message to the Congress of the United States. They are cordially felt by the people of the United States, sympathizing with the cause of freedom wherever its standard is unfurled, behold with pe[illegible] the display of Grecian energy in defence of Grecian [illegible] of heroic exertions, at the present time, [illegible] ages, in the land of Epaminondas [illegible]

[illegible] with their best wishes the cause of the [illegible] Revolution, by the duties of their situ[illegible] which their relation is that [illegible] with all the world, their estab[illegible] of the laws of nations, preclude [illegible] to a cause which would [illegible]

[illegible] Greece should be enabled to [illegible] an independent nation, the [illegible]

our Government, which Mr. Adams embodies in this correspondence, he had previously expressed in an oration delivered in the city of Washington, on the 4th of July, 1821, of which the following is an extract:—

"America, in the assembly of nations, since her admission among them, has invariably, though often fruitlessly, held forth to them the hand of honest friendship, of equal freedom, of generous reciprocity; she has uniformly spoken among them, though often to heedless, and often to disdainful ears, the language of equal liberty, of equal justice, and equal rights; she has, in the lapse of nearly half a century, without a single exception, respected the independence of other nations while asserting and maintaining her own; she has abstained from interference in the concerns of others, even when the conflict has been for principles to which she clings as to the last vital drop that visits the heart. She has seen that probably for centuries to come all the contests of that Aceldama, the European world, will be contests of inveterate power and emerging right. Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been or shall be unfurled, there will her heart, her benedictions, and her prayers be. But she goes not abroad in search of monsters to destroy. She is the well-wisher to the freedom and independence of all—she is the champion and vindicator only of her own. She will recommend the general cause, by the countenance of her voice, and the benignant sympathy of her example:—she well knows that by [illegible]

under other banners than her own, were they even the banners of foreign independence, she would involve herself beyond the power of extrication, in all the wars of interest and intrigue, of individual avarice, envy and ambition, which assume the colors, and usurp the standard of freedom. The fundamental maxims of her policy would insensibly change from *liberty* to *force;* the frontlet on her brow would no longer beam with the ineffable splendor of freedom and independence; behind it would soon be substituted an imperial diadem, flashing its false and tarnished lustre, the murky meteor of delusion and power. She might become the dictatress of the world; she would be no longer the mistress of her own spirit."

[illegible] Adams's occupancy of the state department [illegible] made by the American Government [illegible] trade, and procure its de[illegible] by the civilized world. On the [illegible] following resolution was [illegible] of Representatives at Wash[illegible]

Ministers in Spain, Russia, the Netherlands, Colombia, and Buenos Ayres, to enter into negotiations with the Governments of these countries on this subject. Mr. Adams also maintained an able correspondence with the Hon. Stratford Canning, the British Minister at Washington, in relation to the basis on which a treaty should be formed with Great Britain for the suppression of the foreign slave trade.

Mr. Rush, the American Minister at the Court of St. James, was directed to enter upon negotiations in London, to this end. His instructions were written by Mr. Adams, with his usual sound judgment and enlarged views of national policy, and the claims of humanity. The convention was in due time completed, and signed by the Plenipotentiaries of both nations, on the 13th of March, 1824, and was sent by Mr. Rush to Washington for ratification. Mr. Monroe and Mr. Adams were ready to give it their sanction; but the Senate insisted on striking out a provision in the first article. The article commenced as follows:—

"The commanders and commissioned officers of each of the two high contracting parties, duly authorized, under the regulations and instructions of their respective Governments, to cruise on the coasts of Africa, of America, and of the West Indies, for the suppression of the slave trade, shall be empowered, under the conditions, limitations, and restrictions hereinafter specified," &c.

The Senate struck out the words "*of America*." This amendment the British Government would not

[illegible] Thus the negotiation on the slave trade, so [illegible] a consummation, fell to the ground.

Mr. Monroe's administration closed on the 3rd of March, 1825. It was a period of uninterrupted prosperity of the country. Our foreign commerce, recovering from the paralysis caused by the embargo, the non-intercourse act, and the war, spread forth its wings and whitened every sea and ocean on the globe. The domestic condition of the Union was thriving beyond the precedent of many former years. Improvements in agriculture were developed; domestic manufactures received a fair protection and encouragement; internal improvements, gaining more and more the attention and confidence of the people, had been prosecuted to the evident benefit of all branches of business [illegible]

[illegible] characteristic of the administration of Mr. [illegible] of note. So judiciously and pa[illegible] exercised the powers entrusted to [illegible] opposition. Divisions, jealousies [illegible] destroyed, and a thorough fusion [illegible] took place. At his re-election [illegible] the presidency, there was no [illegible] party, and [illegible] people. His [illegible] United States should [illegible]

to say, that many of the most striking and praiseworthy features of his administration were enstamped upon it by the labor and influence of the former. His success in maturing and carrying into execution his most popular measures must be attributed, in no small extent, to the ability and faithfulness of his eminent Secretary of State. And the historian may truly record that to John Quincy Adams, in an eminent degree, belongs a portion of the honor and credit which have been so generally accorded to the administration of James Monroe.

CHAPTER VII.

MR. ADAMS' NOMINATION TO THE PRESIDENCY—SPIRITED PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN—NO CHOICE BY THE PEOPLE—ELECTION GOES TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—MR. ADAMS ELECTED PRESIDENT—HIS INAUGURATION—FORMS HIS CABINET.

James Monroe was the last of the illustrious line of Presidential [illegible] claims to that eminent station dated back to the revolution. A grateful people had conferred the highest honors in their gift upon the most [illegible] of those patriots who had faithfully served [illegible] perilous struggle, and aided in constructing [illegible] the union of these States. This [illegible] faithfully discharged, they looked [illegible] competing claims of a different [illegible] to the dignity of [illegible] who had [illegible]

ism had shed the brightest lustre on the American name and character throughout the world. Candidates for the presidency were nominated in various sections of the Union. The eastern States turned their eyes instinctively towards JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, as one, among all the eminent competitors, the most fitted, by character and services, for the office of President of the United States. The members of the Legislature of Maine resolved—

"That the splendid talents and incorruptible integrity of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, his republican habits and principles, distinguished public services, and extensive knowledge of, and devoted attachment to, the vital interests of the country, justly entitle him to the first honors in the gift of an enlightened and grateful people."

The republican members of the Massachusetts Legislature adopted the following resolutions:—

"Resolved, That the ability, experience, integrity and patriotism of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS; his manly efforts to defend the principles of that government under which, in God's providence, we hope to die; his unshaken fortitude and resolution in all political exigencies; his long, faithful, and valuable services, under the patronage of all the Presidents of the United States, present him to the people of this nation, as a man eminently qualified to subserve the best interests of his country, and as a statesman without reproach.

"Resolved, That a man who has given such continued and undoubtable pledges of his patriotism and capacity, may be safely placed at the head of this nation. Every impulse of his heart, and every dictate of his mind, must unite promptly in the support of the interests, the honor, and the liberty of his country.

"Resolved, That JOHN QUINCY ADAMS is hereby recommended by us to the people of the United States, as the most suitable candidate for the office of President, at the approaching election."

A meeting of the citizens of Rhode Island passed the following among other resolutions:—

"Resolved, That, although we duly acknowledge the talents and public services of all the candidates for the presidency, we have the fullest confidence in the acknowledged ability, integrity and experience of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, the accomplished scholar, the true republican, the enlightened statesman, and the honest man; and we are desirous that his merits should be rewarded with the first office in the gift of the people of the United States—that his future services may contribute to the blessings which, under the present administration of the General Government, we have so abundantly enjoyed."

[illegible] high encomiums. But who among the [illegible] now that the patriot has departed [illegible] by his life, his character, and his [illegible] acknowledge they were justly and [illegible] resolutions were passed in [illegible] of the northern States.

[illegible] HENRY CLAY, one of the [illegible] statesmen of the day. [illegible] a splendid military rep- [illegible] Southwest and West. [illegible] representing [illegible] were [illegible] talents.

[illegible]

to the confidence of every true republican and well-wisher of his country. While his attainments were not of the showy and popular cast possessed by many public men, they yet were of that solid, practical and valuable description which must ever receive the sanction of intelligent and reflecting minds.

The qualifications on which his supporters depended, and to which they called the attention of the American people, as reasons for elevating him to the head of the General Government, may be summarily enumerated as follows:—1. The purity of his private character—the simplicity of his personal habits—his unbending integrity and uprightness, even beyond suspicion. 2. His commanding talents, and his acquirements both as a scholar and a statesman. 3. His love of country—his truly American feelings, in all that concerned the welfare and honor of the United States. 4. His long experience in public affairs, especially his familiarity with our foreign relations, and his perfect knowledge of the institutions, the internal condition and policy of European nations. 5. His advocacy of protection to domestic manufactures, and of a judicious system of internal improvements.

In regard to internal improvements by the General Government, there was a difference of opinion between Mr. Adams and President Monroe. The latter was strongly impressed with the beneficial tendency of a well-digested system of internal improvements, [illegible] believed the constitution conferred no power [illegible]

gress to make appropriations for such a purpose. It was in this view of the subject that he vetoed a bill which assumed the right to adopt and execute such a system, passed by Congress during the session of 1830-31. But anxious that internal improvements, confined to great national purposes, and with proper limitations, should be prosecuted, he suggested that an amendment of the constitution to that effect should be recommended to the several States.

[illegible] however, had no doubts that Congress [illegible] constitutional power to prosecute [illegible] improvements as were of a national [illegible] calculated to benefit the Union, and to [illegible] protection of domestic manufactures. [illegible] political career he had deemed these [illegible] toward which the American [illegible] should turn their especial at- [illegible] gave them his faithful advocacy [illegible] mature wisdom, he foresaw [illegible] our [illegible] resources were [illegible] on foreign [illegible] our public and private [illegible] by an adequate protection [illegible] would be an increased [illegible] the

While a candidate for the presidency, Mr. Adams received a letter inquiring his views on the subject of internal improvement. The following is an extract from his reply :—

"On the 23rd of Feb., 1807, I offered, in the Senate of the United States, of which I was then a member, the first resolution, as I believe, that ever was presented to Congress, contemplating a *general system* of internal improvement. I thought that Congress possessed the power of appropriating money to such improvement, and of authorizing the works necessary for making it—subject always to the territorial rights of the several States in or through which the improvement is to be made, to be secured by the consent of their Legislatures, and to proprietary rights of individuals, to be purchased or indemnified. I still hold the same opinions; and, although highly respecting the purity of intention of those who object, on constitutional grounds, to the exercise of this power, it is with heartfelt satisfaction that I perceive those objections gradually yielding to the paramount influence of the *general welfare*. Already have appropriations of money to great objects of internal improvement been freely made; and I hope we shall both live to see the day, when the only question of our statesmen and patriots, concerning the authority of Congress to improve, by public works essentially beneficent, and beyond the means of less than national resources, the condition of our common country, will be how it ever could have been doubted."

On another occasion, Mr. Adams expressed himself on the subject of internal improvements in the following manner :—

"The question of the power of Congress to authorize the making of internal improvements, is, in other words, a question of [illegible] the people of this Union, in forming their common [illegible] avowedly for the purpose of protecting their [illegible] performed their work in a manner so [illegible] themselves the means of bettering their own [illegible] much respect for the intellect of any [illegible]

first object of human association is the improvement of the condition of the associated. Roads and canals are among the most essential [illegible] improving the condition of nations. And a people which should deliberately, by the abnegation of its authorized power, deprive itself of the faculty of multiplying its own blessings, would be as wise as a creator who should undertake to constitute a human [illegible]

In addition to other claims, the friends of Mr. Adams [illegible] elevation to the presidency on the ground [illegible] during the thirty-six years which had [illegible] the adoption of the constitution, the Gen[illegible] had been administered but four years [illegible] President. It was insisted with much [illegible] portion of the Republic had thus [illegible] disproportionate influence in the execu[illegible] the nation. While the north, [illegible] populous, and contributing much [illegible] means for defraying the na[illegible] not claim to monopolise an [illegible] controlling the measures of [illegible] insist that its demands [illegible] be heeded [illegible] weight [illegible]

the people, and was conducted with great zeal and vigor by the friends of the different aspirants. Strictly speaking, it could not be called a party contest. Mr. Monroe's wise and prudent administration had obliterated party lines, and left a very general unanimity of sentiment on political principles and measures, throughout the Union. The various candidates—Adams, Jackson, Clay, Crawford—all subscribed, substantially, to the same political creed, and entertained similar views as to the principles on which the General Government should be administered. The struggle was a personal and sectional one, more than of a party nature.

It had long been foreseen that a choice of President would not be effected by the people. The result verified this prediction. Of two hundred and sixty-one electoral votes, Gen. Jackson received ninety-nine, Mr. Adams eighty-four, Mr. Crawford forty-one, and Mr. Clay thirty-seven. Neither of the candidates having received a majority in the electoral colleges, the election devolved on the House of Representatives. This took place on the 9th of Feb., 1825.

On the morning of that day, the House met at an earlier hour than usual. The galleries, the lobbies, and the adjacent apartments, were filled to overflowing with spectators from every part of the Union to witness this momentous event. It was a scene the most [illegible] that could be witnessed on earth. The Representatives of the People, in the exercise of the highest [illegible]

freedom, were about to select a citizen to administer the Government of a great Republic.

All the members of the House were present, with the exception of one, who was confined by indisposition. The Speaker (Henry Clay) took his chair, and the ordinary business of the morning was attended to in the usual manner. At 12 o'clock, precisely, the [illegible] the Senate entered the hall, preceded by their Sergeant-at-arms, and having the President of [illegible] at their head, who was invited to a seat on [illegible] the Speaker. The Senators were [illegible] in front of the Speaker's chair.

[illegible] of the Senate (Mr. Gaillard) then [illegible] that the certificates forwarded by the [illegible] States would be delivered to the [illegible] of the Senate, and Messrs. [illegible] Philip P. Barbour on the part of the [illegible] Tyler, at the Clerk's table. [illegible] opened two packets, [illegible] other by mail, con- [illegible] of the State of [illegible] these certificates was then [illegible] the honorable [illegible] the whole [illegible]

the Tellers left the Clerk's tables, and, presenting themselves in front of the Speaker, Mr. Tazewell delivered their report of the votes given.

The President of the Senate then rose, and declared that no person had received a majority of the votes given for President of the United States; that Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, and William H. Crawford, were the three persons who had received the highest number of votes; and that the remaining duties in the choice of a President now devolved on the House of Representatives. He further declared, that John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, having received 182 votes, was duly elected Vice President of the United States, to serve four years from the 4th of March next. The members of the Senate then retired.

The Speaker directed the roll of the House to be called by States, and the members of the respective delegations to take their seats in the order in which the States should be called, beginning at the right hand of the Speaker. The delegations took their seats accordingly. Ballot-boxes were distributed to each delegation, by the Sergeant-at-arms, and the Speaker directed that the balloting should proceed. The ballots having all been deposited in the boxes, Tellers were appointed by the respective delegations, being one from each State, who took their seats at two tables.

Mr. Webster of Massachusetts was appointed by those Tellers who sat at one table, and Mr. [illegible]

of Virginia by those at the other, to announce the result. After the ballots were counted out, Mr. Webster rose, and said:—

"Mr. Speaker: The Tellers of the votes at this table have proceeded to count the ballots contained in the boxes set before them. The result they find to be, that there are for John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts, thirteen votes; for Andrew Jackson, of Tennessee, seven votes; for William H. Crawford, of Georgia, four votes."

[illegible], from the other table, made a statement [illegible] agreeing with that of Mr. Webster.

[illegible] then stated this result to the House, [illegible] that JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, having a [illegible] votes of these United States, was duly [illegible] of the same, for four years, com- [illegible] the day of March, 1825.

[illegible] appointed to wait upon Mr. [illegible] him the result of the election, [illegible] them. On performing [illegible] from Mr. Adams the following

a higher and more respectful sense than myself. The names of two of them were, in the fulfilment of the provisions of the constitution, presented to the selection of the House of Representatives in concurrence with my own,—names closely associated with the glory of the nation, and one of them farther recommended by a larger majority of the primary electoral suffrages than mine.

In this state of things, could my refusal to accept the trust thus delegated to me give an opportunity to the people to form, and to express, with a nearer approach to unanimity, the object of their preference, I should not hesitate to decline the acceptance of this eminent charge, and to submit the decision of this momentous question again to their determination. But the constitution itself has not so disposed of the contingency which would arise in the event of my refusal. I shall, therefore, repair to the post assigned me by the call of my country, signified through her constitutional organs; oppressed with the magnitude of the task before me, but cheered with the hope of that generous support from my fellow-citizens, which, in the vicissitudes of a life devoted to their service, has never failed to sustain me—confident in the trust, that the wisdom of the legislative councils will guide and direct me in the path of my official duty; and relying, above all, upon the superintending providence of that Being "in whose hands our breath is, and whose are all our ways."

"Gentlemen, I pray you to make acceptable to the House, the assurance of my profound gratitude for their confidence, and to accept yourselves my thanks for the friendly terms in which you have communicated to me their decision."

The diffidence manifested by Mr. Adams in accepting the office of President, under the peculiar circumstances of his election, and his wish, if it were possible, to submit his claims again to the people, were unquestionably uttered with great sincerity of heart; [illegible] was the choice of but a minority, as expressed [illegible] electoral vote; and in accordance with his [illegible] principles and feelings, he would have [illegible]

expression of public opinion. But the constitution made no provision for such an arbitrament. He must either serve or resign. In the latter case, the Vice President would have discharged the duties of President during the term. Mr. Adams had no alternative, therefore, but to accept the office, agreeably to the requirements of the constitution. Had either of his competitors been elected by the House of Representatives, they would, as he was, a minority President. Notwithstanding Gen. Jackson received fifteen more electoral votes than Mr. Adams, yet it is believed that in the popular elections the latter obtained a greater number of individual votes of the people than the [illegible]

[illegible] Jackson had a plurality in the nom-[illegible] electoral colleges, the question is, [illegible] plurality in the popular votes of the [illegible] Carolina, the Crawford men had a [illegible] of the Jackson and Adams [illegible] their forces, gave [illegible] Gen. [illegible] Jackson's plurality [illegible] votes in its favor [illegible] the [illegible]

ninety-four, and leave Gen. Jackson with *eighty-four*. Besides, the popular majorities for Mr. Adams in the six New England States were greatly in excess of the Jackson majorities in the eight States which gave their vote for him; which largely augments Mr. Adams' aggregate plurality in the Union over Gen. Jackson's. Then deduct the constitutional allowance for the *slave* vote in the slave States, as given by their masters. It will not be pretended that this is a *popular* vote, though constitutional. Gen. Jackson obtained *fifty-five* electoral votes, more than half his entire vote, and Mr. Adams only *six* from slave States. It will therefore be seen, that on the principle of a popular plurality, carried out, and carried through, (it ought not to stop for the advantage of one party,) Mr. Adams, in the election of 1824, was FAR AHEAD of Gen. Jackson."*

On the the 4th of March, 1825, John Quincy Adams was inaugurated as President of the United States, and took the executive chair, which had been entered twenty-eight years before by his venerated father. The declaration of that father in reference to the son, when a lad—"He behaves like a man!"—had gathered strength and meaning in the lapse of years. The people of the American republic, taught by a long experience, faithful and eminent services, in the fulfilment of duty,

* Colton's Life and Times of Henry Clay, [illegible]

prophetic words, placed him in a position the most elevated and honorable, the most worthy the aim of a pure and patriotic ambition, that earth can afford!

The scene at the inauguration was splendid and imposing. At an early hour of the day the avenues leading to the capitol presented an animated spectacle. Crowds of citizens on foot, in carriages, and on horseback, were hastening to the great centre of attraction. Strains of martial music, and the movements of the various military corps, heightened the excitement.

At 12 o'clock, the military escort, consisting of gen[illegible] officers, and several volunteer companies, [illegible] the President elect at his residence, together [illegible] Monroe, and several officers of govern[illegible] procession, led by the cavalry, and accom[illegible] concourse of citizens, proceeded [illegible] where it was received, with military [illegible] U. S. Marine Corps under Col. Hen[illegible]

[illegible] of the House of Representatives [illegible] The galleries and the [illegible] spectators. The sofas be[illegible] the promenade in the star[illegible] room of the [illegible] of.

navy were scattered in groups throughout the hall. In front of the Clerk's table chairs were placed for the Judges of the Supreme Court.

At twenty minutes past 12 o'clock, the marshals, in blue scarfs, made their appearance in the hall, at the head of the august procession. First came the officers of both Houses of Congress. Then appeared the President elect, followed by the venerable ex-president Monroe, with his family. To these succeeded the Judges of the Supreme Court, in their robes of office, the members of the Senate, preceded by the Vice-President, with a number of the members of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Adams, in a plain suit of black, made entirely of American manufactures, ascended to the Speaker's chair, and took his seat. The Chief Justice was placed in front of the Clerk's table, having before him another table on the floor of the hall, on the opposite side of which sat the remaining Judges, with their faces towards the chair. The doors having been closed, and silence proclaimed, Mr. Adams arose, and, in a distinct and firm tone of voice, read his inaugural address.

At the conclusion of the address, a general plaudit burst forth from the vast assemblage, which continued some minutes. Mr. Adams then descended from the chair, and, proceeding to the Judges' table, received from the Chief Justice a volume of the Laws of the United States, from which he read, with a loud voice, the oath of office. The plaudits and huzzas [illegible]

multitude were at this juncture repeated, accompanied by salutes of artillery from without.

The congratulations which then poured in from every side occupied the hands, and could not but reach the heart of President Adams. The meeting between him and his venerated predecessor, had in it something peculiarly affecting. General Jackson was among the earliest of those who took the hand of the President; and their looks and deportment towards each other were a rebuke to that littleness of party spirit which can see no merit in a rival, and feel no joy in the [illegible] competitor.

[illegible] after 1 o'clock, the procession commenced [illegible] hall. The President was escorted back as [illegible] arrival at his residence, he received [illegible] and respects of a great number of [illegible] who called on him to tender [illegible] The proceedings of the day [illegible] "inaugural ball" in the evening, [illegible] were the President and [illegible] Monroe, a number of [illegible] civil, military and naval [illegible]

fellow-citizens, in your presence, and in that of heaven, to bind myself, by the solemnities of a religious obligation, to the faithful performance of the duties allotted to me, in the station to which I have been called.

"In unfolding to my countrymen the principles by which I shall be governed, in the fulfilment of those duties, my first resort will be to that constitution which I shall swear, to the best of my ability, to preserve, protect, and defend. That revered instrument enumerates the powers and prescribes the duties of the Executive Magistrate, and in its first words, declares the purposes to which these, and the whole action of the Government instituted by it, should be invariably and sacredly devoted—to form a more perfect union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to the people of this Union, in their successive generations. Since the adoption of this social compact, one of these generations has passed away. It is the work of our forefathers. Administered by some of the most eminent men, who contributed to its formation, through a most eventful period in the annals of the world, and through all the vicissitudes of peace and war, incidental to the condition of associated man, it has not disappointed the hopes and aspirations of those illustrious benefactors of their age and nation. It has promoted the lasting welfare of that country so dear to us all; it has, to an extent far beyond the ordinary lot of humanity, secured the freedom and happiness of this people. We now receive it as a precious inheritance from those to whom we are indebted for its establishment, doubly bound by the examples which they have left us, and by the blessings which we have enjoyed, as the fruits of their labors, to transmit the same, unimpaired, to the succeeding generation.

"In the compass of thirty-six years, since this great national covenant was instituted, a body of laws enacted under its authority, and in conformity with its provisions, has unfolded its powers and carried into practical operation its effective energies. Subordinate departments have distributed the executive functions in their various relations to foreign affairs, to the revenue, to expenditures, and to the military force of the Union by land and sea. A co-ordinate department of the judiciary [illegible] the constitution and the laws; settling, in harmony [illegible]

with the [illegible] will, numerous weighty questions of construction, which the imperfection of human language had rendered unavoidable. The year of jubilee since the first formation of our Union, has just elapsed; that of the Declaration of our Independence is at hand. The consummation of both was effected by this constitution. Within that period, a population of four millions has multiplied to [illegible]. Our territory bounded by the Mississippi has been extended [illegible] sea to sea. New States have been admitted to the Union, in numbers nearly equal to those of the first confederation. Treaties of peace, amity, and commerce, have been concluded with [illegible] of the earth. The people of other nations, [illegible] of regions acquired, not by conquests, but by compact, [illegible] with us in the participation of our rights and duties, [illegible] and blessings. The forest has fallen by the [illegible] the soil has been made to teem by the tillage [illegible] commerce has whitened every ocean. The [illegible] physical nature has been extended by the [illegible]. Liberty and law have marched hand in [illegible] of human association have been accom- [illegible] under any other Government on the globe, [illegible] in a whole generation, the expendi- [illegible] single year.

[illegible] exaggerated picture of our condition under a [illegible] the republican principle of equal rights. [illegible] its shadow, is but to say, that it is [illegible]. From evil—physical, moral, [illegible] the contrast. We have suffered, [illegible] through disaster, others by [illegible] for the [illegible] [illegible] which have [illegible] of the Union, [illegible]

"It is a source of gratification and of encouragement to us, to observe that the great result of this experiment upon the family of human rights, has, at the close of that generation by which it was formed, been crowned with success equal to the most sanguine expectations of its founders. Union, justice, tranquillity, the common defence, the general welfare, and the blessings of liberty, all have been promoted by the Government under which we have lived. Standing at this point of time, looking back to that generation which has gone by, and forward to that which is advancing, we may at once indulge in grateful exultation and in cheering hope. From the experience of the past, we derive instructive lessons for the future.

"Of the two great political parties which have divided the opinions and feelings of our country, the candid and the just will now admit, that both have contributed splendid talents, spotless integrity, ardent patriotism, and disinterested sacrifices, to the formation and administration of the Government, and that both have required a liberal indulgence for a portion of human infirmity and error. The revolutionary wars of Europe, commencing precisely at the moment when the Government of the United States first went into operation under the constitution, excited collisions of sentiments and of sympathies, which kindled all the passions and embittered the conflict of parties, till the nation was involved in war, and the Union was shaken to its centre. This time of trial embraced a period of five-and-twenty years, during which the policy of the Union in its relations with Europe constituted the principal basis of our own political divisions, and the most arduous part of the action of the Federal Government. With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French Revolution terminated, and our own subsequent peace with Great Britain, this baneful weed of party strife was uprooted. [illegible] time no difference of principle, connected with the [illegible] ernment, or with our intercourse with foreign [illegible] or been called forth in force sufficient to [illegible] bination of parties, or given more than wholesome [illegible] lic sentiment or legislative debate. Our political [illegible] dissenting voice that can be heard, is, that the will of [illegible] the source, and the happiness of the people is the [illegible] imate government upon earth: that the best [illegible] cence, and the best guaranty against the abuse of [illegible]

[illegible] the purity, and the frequency of popular elections: that the General Government of the Union, and the separate Governments of the States, are all sovereignties of legitimate powers, fellow-servants of the same masters—uncontrolled within their respective spheres, uncontrollable by encroachments on each other. If there have been those who doubted whether a confederated representative democracy was a Government competent to the wise and energetic management of the common concerns of a mighty nation, their doubts have been dispelled. If there have been projects of political constitutions to be erected upon the ruins of the Union, they have been consigned to the winds. If there have been dangerous attachments to our foreign nation, and antipathies against another, they have been extinguished. Ten years of peace at home and abroad have assuaged the animosities of political contention, and [illegible] the most discordant elements of public opinion. [illegible] one effort of magnanimity, one sacrifice of [illegible] to be made by the individuals throughout the [illegible] followed the standards of political party. [illegible] resentment of rancor against each other, [illegible] and friends, and of yielding to talents [illegible] which, in times of contention for [illegible] only upon those who bore the badge of [illegible]

[illegible] which originate in speculative [illegible] administrative policy, are in their [illegible] founded on geographical divi- [illegible] of domestic life, [illegible] It is [illegible] Govern- [illegible] important [illegible] the rights of [illegible] the [illegible]

difficulties in the detail. To respect the rights of the [illegible] Governments is the inviolable duty of that of the United States; the Government of every State will feel its own obligation to respect and preserve the rights of the whole. The prejudices everywhere too generally entertained against distant strangers are worn away, and the jealousies of jarring interests are allayed, by the congregations and functions of the great national council, annually assembled, from all quarters of the Union, at this place. Here the distinguished men from every section of our country, while meeting to deliberate upon the great interests of those by whom they are deputed, learn to estimate the talents, and do justice to the virtues, of each other. The harmony of the nation is promoted, and the whole Union is knit together by the sentiments of mutual respect, the habits of social intercourse, and the ties of personal friendship, formed between the representatives of its several parts in the performance of this service at this metropolis.

"Passing from this general review of the purposes and objections of the Federal constitution and their results, as indicating the first traces of the path of duty in the discharge of my public trust, I turn to the administration of my immediate predecessor, as the second. It has passed away in a period of profound peace; how much to the satisfaction of our country, and to the honor of our country's name, is known to you all. The great features of his policy, in general concurrence with the will of the Legislature, have been—To cherish peace while preparing for defence, and to yield exact justice to other nations, and maintain the rights of our own—to cherish the principles of freedom and equal rights wherever they were proclaimed—to discharge, with all possible promptitude, the national debt—to reduce within the [illegible] its of efficiency the military force—to improve the [illegible] and discipline of the army—to provide and sustain a [illegible] military science—to extend equal protection to all the [illegible] the nation—to promote the civilization of the Indian tribes [illegible] to proceed to the great system of internal improvements [illegible] limits of the constitutional power of the United [illegible] of these promises, made by that eminent citizen [illegible] first induction to this office, in his career of eight years [illegible] taxes have been repealed; sixty millions of the [illegible] have discharged; provision has been made [illegible]

relief of the aged and indigent among the surviving warriors of the Revolution; the regular armed force has been reduced, and its constitutional perfected; the accountability for the expenditure of public money has been more effective; the Floridas have been peaceably acquired, and our boundary has been extended to the Pacific Ocean; the independence of the southern nations of this hemisphere has been recognised, and recommended by example and by advice to the potentates of Europe; progress has been made in the defence of the country, by fortifications and the increase of the navy—towards the effectual suppression of the African traffic in slaves—in drawing the aboriginal hunters of our land to the cultivation and the refinement of the mind—in exploring the interior regions of our country, and in preparing, by scientific researches and surveys, [illegible] application of our national resources to the internal improvement of the country.

[illegible] of the promise and performance of my in[illegible] the line of duty, for his successor, is clearly [illegible] their consummation these purposes of [illegible] condition instituted or recommended [illegible] sphere of my obligation. To the [illegible] emphatically urged by him at his in[illegible] peculiar satisfaction. It is that from [illegible] the unborn millions of our posterity, who [illegible] this continent, will derive their most [illegible] of the Union—that in which the [illegible] will be most deeply felt and ac[illegible] of their public works [illegible] republics. The [illegible] of all other [illegible] the spirit of [illegible] have prevailed with regard to [illegible] future.

injury? Repeated, liberal and candid discussions in the Legislature have conciliated the sentiments, and approximated the opinions of enlightened minds, upon the question of constitutional power. I cannot but hope that, by the same process of friendly, patient, and persevering deliberation, all constitutional objections will ultimately be removed. The extent and limitation of the powers of the General Government, in relation to this transcendently important interest, will be settled and acknowledged to the common satisfaction of all; and every speculative scruple will be solved by a practical public blessing.

"Fellow-citizens, you are acquainted with the peculiar circumstances of the recent election, which have resulted in affording me the opportunity of addressing you at this time. You have heard the exposition of the principles which will direct me in the fulfilment of the high and solemn trust imposed upon me in this station. Less possessed of your confidence, in advance, than any of my predecessors, I am deeply conscious of the prospect that I shall stand more and oftener in need of your indulgence. Intentions upright and pure, a heart devoted to the welfare of our country, and the unceasing application of the faculties allotted to me to her service, are all the pledges that I can give for the faithful performance of the arduous duties I am to undertake. To the guidance of the legislative councils; to the assistance of the executive and subordinate departments; to the friendly co-operation of the respective State Governments; to the candid and liberal support of the people, so far as it may be deserved by honest industry and zeal; I shall look for whatever success may attend my public service; and knowing that 'except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain,' with fervent supplications for His favor, to His overruling providence I commit, with humble but fearless confidence, my own fate, and the future destinies of my country."

In entering upon the discharge of his duties as President, Mr. Adams proceeded to form his cabinet by nominating Henry Clay, of Kentucky, Secretary of State; Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, Secretary of the Treasury; James Barbour, of Virginia, Secretary

of War; Samuel L. Southard, Secretary of the Navy, and Wm. Wirt, Attorney General. These were all men of superior talents, of tried integrity and faithfulness, and well worthy the elevated positions to which they were called.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHARGES OF CORRUPTION AGAINST MR. CLAY AND MR. ADAMS —MR. ADAMS ENTERS UPON HIS DUTIES AS PRESIDENT—VISIT OF LA FAYETTE—TOUR THROUGH THE UNITED STATES —MR. ADAMS DELIVERS HIM A FAREWELL ADDRESS—DEPARTS FROM THE UNITED STATES.

THE election of Mr. Adams to the presidency, was a severe disappointment to the friends of Gen. Jackson. As the latter had received a majority of fifteen electoral votes over Mr. Adams, it was confidently anticipated, nay, virtually demanded, that he should be elected by the House of Representatives. This claim, it was insisted, was in accordance with the will of the people, as expressed in the electoral colleges, and to resist it would be to violate the spirit of the constitution, and to set at nought the fundamental principles of our republican Government. A sufficient reply to these positions is found in the fact, that Gen. Jackson did not receive a *majority* of the electoral votes, and hence a majority of the people could not be considered as desiring his election. The absolute truth, subsequently obtained on this point, was, that Mr. Adams had received more of the primary votes of the people than Gen. Jackson; and thus, according to all

lican principles, was entitled to be considered the first choice of the citizens of the United States.

The position of Mr. Clay, in this contest for the presidency, was one of great delicacy and difficulty. He was precisely in that critical posture, that, whatever course he might pursue, he would be subject to misrepresentation and censure, and could not but raise up a host of enemies. Originally one of the four candidates for the presidency, he failed, by five electoral votes, in having a sufficient number to be one of the three candidates returned to the House of Representatives, of which he was then Speaker. In this posture of affairs, [illegible] that upon the course which should be [illegible] Mr. Clay, and his friends in the House, de[illegible] who should be elected President. [illegible] on account of the critical state of his [illegible] out of the question, Mr. Clay [illegible] between Mr. Adams and Gen. [illegible]

[illegible] of affairs, Mr. Clay saw, that however [illegible] and however [illegible] he might be regarded in [illegible] he [illegible] defeated [illegible]

had been foreseen such a contingency would occur, he had expressed his want of confidence in the ability and fitness of Gen. Jackson for the executive chair. But in Mr. Adams he saw a man of the utmost purity and integrity of private character—a scholar of the ripest abilities—a statesman, a diplomatist, a patriot of unquestioned talents and of long experience,—one who had been entrusted with most important public interests by Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, and also had received from these illustrious men every mark of confidence—whose familiarity with the internal condition and foreign relations of the Union was unequalled by any public man! Between men so dissimilar in their qualifications, how could Mr. Clay, with the slightest regard to the welfare of the nation, the claims of patriotism, or the dictates of his conscience, hesitate to choose? He did not hesitate. With an intrepid determination to meet all consequences, he threw his influence in behalf of Mr. Adams, and secured his election.

This decisive step, as had been clearly foreseen, drew upon the head of Mr. Clay the severest censures of the supporters of Gen. Jackson. Motives of the deepest political corruption were attributed to him. They charged him with making a deliberate stipulation, or "bargain" with Mr. Adams, to give his influence on the understanding that he was to receive in recompense the appointment to the state department. The avowed doubtful object of this charge was to make Mr. Adams

future prospects, and make capital to the advantage of Gen. Jackson in the next presidential campaign. It implicated Mr. Adams equally with Mr. Clay. If the latter had been so corrupt as to offer his support on the promise of office, the former was quite as guilty in accepting of terms so venal. There never was a more base charge against American statesmen—there never was one more entirely destitute of foundation, or even shadow of proof! It was at no time considered entitled to the slightest particle of belief by those who [illegible] Washington during these transactions and [illegible] opportunity of knowing the true state of things [illegible] But there were many, throughout the [illegible] ready to receive such reports in regard to [illegible] Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay were [illegible] by this alleged collusion—a preju- [illegible] not efface.

[illegible] appeared in a tangible form shortly [illegible] by the House of Representa- [illegible] in the "Columbian Ob- [illegible] ascertained to [illegible] a number of the [illegible] from Pennsylvania, Mr. [illegible] National [illegible]

Observer," and professed himself ready to prove the corruptions alleged: whereupon Mr. Clay demanded that the House raise a committee to investigate the case. The committee was appointed; but Mr. Kremer, on grounds of the most frivolous description, refused to appear before the committee, or to furnish a particle of proof of the truth of the grave assertions he had uttered—thus virtually acknowledging their slanderous character.

Mr. Clay being in this manner denied the privilege of vindicating his innocence, and showing the depravity of his accusers, the matter continued in an unsettled state until the next presidential campaign, when it was revived in a more tangible form, and brought to bear adversely to Mr. Adams's administration and re-election. In 1827, Gen. Jackson, in a letter to Mr. Carter Beverly, which soon appeared in public print, made the following statement:—

"Early in January, 1825, a member of Congress of high respectability visited me one morning, and observed that he had a communication he was desirous to make to me; that he was informed there was a great intrigue going on, and that it was right I should be informed of it. * * * * * * * He said he had been informed by the friends of Mr. Clay, that the friends of Mr. Adams had made overtures to them, saying, if Mr. Clay and his friends would unite in aid of Mr. Adams's election, Mr. Clay should be Secretary of State; that the friends of Mr. Adams were urging, as a reason to induce the friends of Mr. Clay to accede to their proposition, that if I was elected President, Mr. Adams would be continued Secretary of State; that the friends of Mr. Clay stated the West did not wish to separate from the West, and if I would say, or permit my confidential friends to say, that in case I were elected [illegible]

Mr. Adams should not be continued Secretary of State, by a complete union of Mr. Clay and his friends, they would put an end to the presidential contest in one hour. And he was of opinion it was right to fight such intriguers with their own weapons."

On a subsequent statement, Gen. Jackson asserted that the gentleman who called upon him with these propositions was James Buchanan, of Pennsylvania.

This was the Kremer charge made definite in circumstances and application; and if well grounded, was susceptible of plain proof. On the appearance of this statement by Gen. Jackson, Mr. Clay came out with a positive denial. He said:—

[illegible] nor authorized, nor knew of any proposition [illegible] of the three candidates who were returned to [illegible] at the last presidential election, or to [illegible] for the purpose of influencing the re[illegible] or any other purpose. And all allegations, [illegible] my vote on that occasion was [illegible] in fact given, in consideration of any [illegible] or implied, direct or indirect, [illegible] that any other person was not, to [illegible] or that I was, or in any other [illegible] of all truth and [illegible]

[illegible] between Gen. Jackson [illegible] Mr. Buchanan [illegible]

unequivocal language, having made any such proposition to Gen. Jackson. In his explanation he says:—

"I called upon General Jackson solely as his friend, upon my individual responsibility, and not as the agent of Mr. Clay, or any other person. I never have been the political friend of Mr. Clay, since he became a candidate for the office of President. Until I saw General Jackson's letter to Mr. Beverly, of the 6th ult., and at the same time was informed, by a letter from the editor of the United States Telegraph, that I was the person to whom he alluded, the conception never once entered my head, that he believed me to be the agent of Mr. Clay, or of his friends, or that I had intended to propose to him terms of any kind from them, or that he could have supposed me to be capable of expressing the opinion that it was right to fight such intriguers with their own weapons. Such a supposition, had I entertained it, would have rendered me exceedingly unhappy, as there is no man on earth whose good opinion I more valued than that of General Jackson. * * * * * * * * I owe it to my character to make another observation. Had I ever learned, or even suspected, that General Jackson believed I had been sent to him by Mr. Clay or his friends, I should immediately have corrected his erroneous impression, and thus prevented the necessity for this most unpleasant explanation. * * * * * * * I had no authority from Mr. Clay, or his friends, to propose any terms to General Jackson in relation to their votes, nor did I ever make any such proposition."

This statement fully and triumphantly exonerated Mr. Clay, Mr. Adams, and their friends, from the charge of "bargain" and "corruption," which had been so boldly made and widely disseminated. The only witness ever brought upon the stand to support such an allegation, asserted, in a manner the most positive and decisive, the entire innocence of the parties implicated.

That Mr. Clay, in throwing his influence [illegible]

of Mr. Adams, was but following out a resolution formed long before he had any opportunity of communication with Mr. Adams or his friends, on the subject, is proved by the following extract of a letter from a gentleman in Lexington, Ky., to the editors of the National Intelligencer, dated March 21, 1825:—

"At different times, before Mr. Clay left this place for Washington, last fall, I had conversations with him on the subject of the choice of a President by the House of Representatives. In all of them, he represented himself as having long before decided in favor [illegible] that the contest should lie between that gentle[illegible] Jackson. My last interview with him was, I [illegible] his departure, when he was still more explicit, [illegible] that the election would be transferred to that [illegible] he would not be among the num[illegible] of this conversation, I took occasion [illegible] respect to the delicate and difficult [illegible] he would be placed. He remarked [illegible] them than he did himself; [illegible] from the duty of giving his vote; [illegible] could arise that would justify him in [illegible] Mr. Adams, or induce him to support [illegible] his declarations on this sub[illegible] them, he did, I should have been [illegible] that species of censure which [illegible] in an early and [illegible] Clay's friends, that [illegible]

tial candidates returned to the House of Representatives. In a letter to Mr. Clay he says :—

"I hope you know me too well to suppose that I have countenanced the charge of corruption which has been reiterated against you. The truth is, I approved of your vote when it was given, and should have voted as you did between Jackson and Adams. But candor compells me to say, that I disapproved of your accepting an office under him."

In replying to this letter Mr. Clay remarked :—

"I do, my dear sir, know you too well to suppose that you ever countenanced the charge of corruption against me. No man, of sense and candor—at least none that know me—ever could or did countenance it. Your frank admission that you would have voted as I did, between Mr. Adams and Gen. Jackson, accords with the estimate I have ever made of your intelligence, your independence, and your patriotism. Nor am I at all surprised, or dissatisfied, with the expression of your opinion, that I erred in accepting the place which I now hold. * * * * * * * The truth is, as I have often said, my condition was one full of embarrassments, whatever way I might act. My own judgment was rather opposed to my acceptance of the department of state. But my friends—and let me add, two of your best friends, Mr. McLane of Delaware and Mr. Forsyth—urged me strongly not to decline it. It was represented by my friends, that I should get no credit for the forbearance, but that, on the contrary, it would be said that my forbearance was evidence of my having made a bargain, though unwilling to consummate it. * * * * * * * * These and other similar arguments were pressed upon me; and after a week's deliberation, I yielded to their force. It is quite possible that I may have erred * * * * * * I shall, at least, have no cause of self-reproach."

In 1829, after Mr. Adams had retired from the Presidential chair, in reply to a letter from a [illegible] gentleman in New Jersey, who had [illegible]

[illegible] of Mr. Clay as follows: "Upon him the foulest slanders have been showered. Long known and appreciated, as successively a member of both Houses of your national Legislature, as the unrivalled Speaker, and at the same time most efficient leader of debates in one of them; as an able and successful negotiator of your interests, in war and peace, with foreign powers, and as a powerful candidate for the highest of your trusts, the department of state itself was a station which by [illegible] could confer neither profit nor honor upon [illegible] which he has shed unfading honor, by [illegible] which he has discharged its duties. [illegible] have charged him with obtaining [illegible] by bargain and corruption. Before you, [illegible] in the presence of our country and [illegible] that charge totally unfounded. [illegible] from me to him, and I [illegible] the opportunity afforded me by [illegible] the obligation. As to my [illegible] the department of state [illegible] for- [illegible] and legis- [illegible] they [illegible] then [illegible] government [illegible]

intent only upon the welfare and honor of his country, ought to have preferred to HENRY CLAY. Let him name the man, and then judge you, my fellow-citizens, of my motives."

When Mr. Adams was on a tour in the western States, in the fall of 1842, in addressing the chairman of the committee of his reception, at Maysville, Kentucky, he said: "I thank you, sir, for the opportunity you have given me of speaking of the great statesman who was associated with me in the administration of the General Government, at my earnest solicitation; who belongs not to Kentucky alone, but to the whole Union; and who is not only an honor to this State, and this nation, but to mankind. The charges to which you refer, after my term of service had expired, and it was proper for me to speak, I denied before the whole country. And I here reiterate and re-affirm that denial; and as I expect shortly to appear before my God, to answer for the conduct of my whole life, should these charges have found their way to the throne of eternal justice, I WILL in the presence of Omnipotence pronounce them FALSE."

Before the world Mr. Clay and Mr. Adams stand acquitted of the calumny which their enemies, too, desired, with an industry worthy a better cause, to heap upon them. The history of their [illegible] will do them ample justice. Their names shall [illegible] its pages, illuminated by a well-earned [illegible] intelligent and faithful direction [illegible]

which mind of their accusers will be lost in a merited oblivion.

Mr. Adams, having entered upon his duties as President of the United States, prosecuted them with all that diligence and industrious application which was one of the leading characteristics of his life. Unawed by the opposition and the misrepresentations of his political enemies, and uncorrupted by the power and influence of his station, he pursued the even tenor of his way, having a single object in view, the promotion of the interest of the people over whom he had been called [illegible]

[illegible] the heart of the nation was being [illegible] reminiscences. La Fayette, [illegible] revolution—the companion of Wash- [illegible] enriched American soil in [illegible] had expressed a wish to [illegible]

has been decided. It is an additional member in the history of the ties of brotherly friendship which united us. May it be in my power, before I join our departed companions, to visit such of them as are still inhabitants of the United States, and to tell you personally, my dear Willet, how affectionately

"I am your sincere friend, LA FAYETTE."

Intelligence of this desire to visit America having reached Congress, resolutions were passed placing a Government ship at his disposal:—

"Whereas that distinguished champion of freedom, and hero of our Revolution, the friend and associate of Washington, the Marquis de La Fayette, a volunteer General Officer in our Revolutionary War, has expressed an anxious desire to visit this country, the independence of which his valor, blood, and treasure, were so instrumental in achieving: Therefore—

"Be it Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be requested to communicate to the Marquis de La Fayette the expression of those sentiments of profound respect, gratitude, and affectionate attachment, which are cherished towards him by the Government and people of this country; and to assure him that the execution of his wish and intention to visit this country, will be hailed by the people and Government with patriotic pride and joy.

"And be it further Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to ascertain from the Marquis de La Fayette the time when it will be most agreeable for him to perform his visit, and that he offer to the Marquis a conveyance to this country in one of our national ships."

La Fayette modestly declined this offer of a public ship. He sailed from Havre in the packet-ship Cincinnatus, accompanied by his son, George Washington La Fayette, and arrived in New York on the [illegible] August, 1824.

His reception at New York was sublime and brilliant in the extreme. The meeting between La Fayette, Col. Willet, Gen. Van Cortland, Gen. Clarkson, and other revolutionary worthies, was highly affecting. He knew them all. After the ceremony of embracing and congratulations were over, La Fayette sat down by the side of Col. Willet. "Do you remember," said the colonel, "at the battle of Monmouth, I was a volunteer aid to Gen. Scott? I saw you in the heat of battle, you were but a boy, but you were a serious and [illegible]." "Aye, aye," returned La Fayette, "I remember [illegible]. And on the Mohawk I sent you fifty [illegible] you wrote me that they set up such a yell [illegible] turned the British horse, and they ran one [illegible] another." Thus these veteran [illegible] battles o'er again."

[illegible] La Fayette proceeded on a tour [illegible] United States. Everywhere he was [illegible] as "THE NATION'S GUEST." For [illegible] journey was a complete ovation [illegible] pageant. The people ap- [illegible] with anxiety to hail him, [illegible] attentions and [illegible] of all per- [illegible] hardly to

fires, parties, balls, serenades, and rejoicings of every description, attended his way, from the moment he set foot on the American soil, until he left the country to return to his native France.

The hearts of the people in the most distant parts of the Western Hemisphere were warmed and kindled with the honors paid him in the United States. A letter written at that time from Buenos Ayres, says—"I have just received newspapers from the United States, informing me of the magnificent reception of Gen. La Fayette. I have never read newspapers with such exquisite delight as these; and I firmly believe there never was so interesting and glorious an event in the civilized world, in which all classes of people participated in the general joy, as on this occasion. There is an association of ideas connected with this event that produces in my soul emotions I cannot explain, and fills my heart with such grateful recollections as I cannot forget but with my existence. That immense lions of souls, actuated by pure sentiments of gratitude and friendship, should with one voice proclaim this individual the 'Guest of the Nation,' and pay him the highest honors the citizens of a free nation can give, is an event which must excite the astonishment of Europe, and show the inestimable value of liberty."

In June, 1825, La Fayette visited Bunker Hill. On the 17th day of that month, it being the anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, he participated in the ceremony of laying the corner stone of the monument.

[illegible] of that event, on Bunker Hill. During his visit [illegible], he visited the venerable ex-President John Adams, at Quincy.

But the time for his departure drew near. His journey had extended as far south as New Orleans, west to [illegible], north and east to Massachusetts. He had passed through or touched, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Tennessee, Kentucky, Illinois, Ohio, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and [illegible]

[illegible] the Brandywine, named in honor of [illegible] of Gen. La Fayette at the battle of [illegible] provided by Congress to convey him [illegible] appropriate that he should [illegible] nation at the seat of government [illegible] invited him to [illegible] mansion. Mr. [illegible] terms with La Fayette in [illegible]

Government, civil, military, and [illegible] with the authorities of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, with multitudes of citizens and strangers, assembled in the President's house. La Fayette entered the great hall in silence, leaning on the Marshal of the District, and one of the sons of the President. Mr. Adams then with evident emotion, but with much dignity and firmness, addressed him in the following terms:—

"General La Fayette: It has been the good fortune of many of my fellow-citizens, during the course of the year now elapsed, upon your arrival at their respective places of abode, to greet you with the welcome of the nation. The less pleasing task now devolves upon me, of bidding you, in the name of the nation, Adieu!

"It were no longer seasonable, and would be superfluous, to recapitulate the remarkable incidents of your early life, incidents which associated your name, fortunes, and reputation, in inseparable connection with the independence and history of the North American Union.

"The part which you performed at that important period was marked with characters so peculiar, that, realizing the romantic tale of antiquity, its parallel could scarcely be found in the [illegible] records of human history.

"You deliberately and perseveringly preferred [illegible] the endurance of every hardship, and privation of every [illegible] in defence of a holy cause, to inglorious ease, and the [illegible] of rank, affluence, and unrestrained pleasure, in the [illegible] and fascinating court of Europe.

"That this choice was not less wise than [illegible] tion of half a century, and the gratitude [illegible] all ready to express the gratitude which [illegible] visit to this hemisphere has been welcomed [illegible] emotion.

"When the cause of freedom, to which [illegible] fortunately champion, had [illegible]

cause in this country of your adoption, you returned to fulfil the duties of the philanthropist and patriot, in the land of your nativity. Thus, in a consistent and undeviating career of forty years, you have maintained, through every vicissitude of alternate success and disappointment, the same glorious cause to which the first years of your active life had been devoted, the improvement of the moral and political condition of man.

Throughout that long succession of time, the people of the United States, for whom and with whom you have fought the battles of liberty, have been living in the full possession of its fruits; and of the happiest among the family of nations. Spreading in population, enlarging in territory; acting and suffering according to the condition of their nature; and laying the foundations of the greatest, and we humbly hope, the most beneficient power, that ever [illegible] the concerns of man upon earth.

[illegible] of forty years, the generation of men with whom [illegible] in the conflict of arms, has nearly passed away. [illegible] of the American army in that war, you alone [illegible] who guided our councils; of the warriors [illegible] the field, or upon the wave, with the exception [illegible] length of days has been alloted by Hea- [illegible] their fathers. A succeeding, and even a [illegible] to take their places; and their chil- [illegible] to call them blessed, have been [illegible] by their own constant enjoy- [illegible] upon their fathers, the [illegible] in their cause to [illegible]

[illegible] man- [illegible] people, [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] to-

devotion to her welfare. By him the services of a national ship were placed at your disposal. Your delicacy preferred a more private conveyance, and a full year has elapsed since you landed upon our shores. It were scarcely an exaggeration to say that it has been to the people of the Union a year of uninterrupted festivity and enjoyment, inspired by your presence. You have visited the twenty-four States of this great confederacy—you have been received with rapture by the survivors of your earliest companions in arms—you have been hailed, as a long-absent parent, by their children, the men and women of the present age; and a rising generation, the hope of future time, in numbers surpassing the whole population of that day when you fought at the head and by the side of their forefathers, have vied with the scanty remnants of that hour of trial, in acclamations of joy, at beholding the face of him whom they feel to be the common benefactor of all. You have heard the mingled voices of the past, the present, and the future age, joining in one universal chorus of delight at your approach; and the shouts of unbidden thousands, which greeted your landing on the soil of freedom, have followed every step of your way, and still resound like the rushing of many waters, from every corner of our land.

"You are now about to return to the country of your birth—of your ancestors—of your posterity. The executive Government of the Union, stimulated by the same feeling which had prompted the Congress to the designation of a national ship for your accommodation in coming hither, has destined the first service of a frigate, recently launched at this metropolis, to the less welcome, but equally distinguished trust, of conveying you home. The history of our ship has added one more memorial to distant regions and to future ages, of a stream already memorable at once in the [illegible] sufferings and of our independence.

"The ship is now prepared for your reception, and [illegible] for sea. From the moment of her departure [illegible] will ascend to heaven, that her passage [illegible] your return to the bosom of your family [illegible] in those of the American people.

"Go then, our beloved friend, [illegible] of generous sentiments, [illegible] France, the nursing mother of the [illegible]

[illegible] to the native soil of Bayard and Coligne, of Turenne and [illegible] of Fenelon and D'Aguesseau! In that illustrious catalogue [illegible], which she claims as of her children, and with honest pride [illegible] to the admiration of other nations, the name of LA FAYETTE [illegible] for centuries been enrolled. And it shall henceforth [illegible] brighter fame: for, if in after days, a Frenchman shall [illegible] to indicate the character of his nation by that of one indi- [illegible] the age in which we live, the blood of lofty patriotism [illegible] in his cheek, the fire of conscious virtue shall sparkle [illegible] and he shall pronounce the name of LA FAYETTE. Yet [illegible] and our children in life, and after death, shall claim you [illegible] You are ours, by that more than patriotic self-devo- [illegible] you flow to the aid of our fathers at the crisis of [illegible] by that long series of years in which you have [illegible] in your regard: ours by that unshaken sentiment of [illegible] services, which is a precious portion of our in- [illegible] by that tie of love, stronger then death, which has [illegible] for the endless ages of time, with the name of

[illegible] moment of parting from you, we take comfort in [illegible] you may be, to the last pulsation of your [illegible] be present to your affections; and a [illegible] that we are not called to sorrow, [illegible] your face no more. We shall in- [illegible] our friend again. In [illegible] of the whole people of the [illegible] to give utterance to [illegible] the heart of the nation [illegible] you a delicate and [illegible]

"To have been in the infant and critical days of these States adopted by them as a favorite son; to have participated in the trials and perils of our unspotted struggle for independence and freedom, and equal rights, and in the foundation of the American era of a new social order, which has already pervaded, through the present, for the dignity and happiness of mankind, overspreading and pervade every part of the other hemisphere; to have received, at every stage of the revolution, and during forty years after that period, from the people of the United States and their Representatives at home and abroad, continual marks of their confidence and kindness,—has been the pride, the encouragement, the support of a long and eventful life.

"But how could I find words to acknowledge that series of welcomes, those unbounded and universal displays of public affection, which have marked each step, each hour, of a twelvemonth's progress through the twenty-four States, and which, while they overwhelm my heart with grateful delight, have most satisfactorily evinced the concurrence of the people in the kind testimonies, in the immense favors bestowed on me by the several branches of their Representatives, in every part and at the central seat of the confederacy?

"Yet gratifications still higher awaited me. In the wonders of creation and improvement that have met my enchanted eye, in the unparalleled and self-felt happiness of the people, in their rapid prosperity and insured security, public and private, in abundance of good order, the appendage of true freedom, and a national good sense, the final arbiter of all difficulties, I have felt [illegible] recognize a result of the republican principles for which we fought, and a glorious demonstration to the most timid and [illegible] minds, of the superiority, over degrading aristocracy [illegible] of popular institutions, founded on the plain rights of man, and where the local rights of every section are preserved under a constitutional bond of union. The cherishing of the [illegible] the States, as it has been the farewell entreaty of our [illegible] Washington, and will ever have the dying prayer of every [illegible] can patriot, so it has become the sacred pledge of [illegible] of the truth, the object in which I am happy to [illegible] American people, while they give the [illegible] coming [illegible], in return for the [illegible]

[illegible] and of which a liberal and enlightened sense is every-[illegible] more and more generally felt, show themselves every day [illegible] intensely interested.

[illegible] now, sir, how can I do justice to my deep and lively feel-[illegible] for the assurances, most peculiarly valued, of your esteem [illegible] friendship; for your so very kind references to old times—to my [illegible] associates—to the vicissitudes of my life; for your affecting [illegible] of the blessings poured, by the several generations of the American people, on the remaining days of a delighted veteran; for [illegible] remarks on this sad hour of separation—on the [illegible] of my birth, fall, I can say, of American sympathies—on [illegible] necessary to me, of my seeing again the country that [illegible], near a half a century ago, to call me hers? I shall [illegible], refraining from superfluous repetitions, at once, be-[illegible] this respected circle, to proclaim my cordial con-[illegible] every one of the sentiments which I have had daily [illegible] to utter, from the time when your venerable [illegible] brother in arms and friend, transmitted to me [illegible] of Congress, to this day, when you, my [illegible] friendly connection with me dates from your earliest [illegible] to consign me to the protection, across the Atlan-[illegible] national flag, on board the splendid ship, the name [illegible] the most flattering and kind among the num-[illegible] upon me.

[illegible] who surround us. God bless the [illegible] States, and the Federal Government. [illegible] of the overflowing heart. Such will [illegible]

[illegible] pronounced, [illegible] Adams in his [illegible] weeks.

sighs and tears of many who witnessed it were testimony. Having recovered his self-possession, the General stretched out his hands, and was in a moment surrounded by the greetings of the whole assembly, who pressed upon him, each eager to seize, perhaps for the last time, that beloved hand which was opened so freely for our aid when aid was so precious, and which grasped with firm and undeviating hold the steel which so bravely helped to achieve our deliverance. The expression which now beamed from the face of this exalted man was of the finest and most touching kind. The hero was lost in the father and the friend. Dignity melted into subdued affection, and the friend of Washington seemed to linger with a mournful delight among the sons of his adopted country.

A considerable period was then occupied in conversing with various individuals, while refreshments were presented to the company. The moment of departure at length arrived; and having [illegible] pressed the hand of Mr. Adams, he entered the carrouche, accompanied by the Secretaries of State, of the Treasury, and of the Navy, and passed from the capital of the Union. An immense procession accompanied him to the banks of the Potomac, where the steamboat Mount Vernon awaited to convey him down the river to the frigate Brandywine. The [illegible] —the peals of artillery, the sounds of [illegible] bands, the presence of the vast concourse [illegible]

and the occasion that assembled them, produced emotions not easily described, but which every American heart can readily conceive. As the steamboat moved off, the deepest silence was observed by the whole multitude that lined the shore. The feelings that pervaded them was that of children bidding farewell to a venerated parent.

When the boat came opposite the tomb of Washington, at Mount Vernon, it paused in its progress. [illegible] arose. The wonders which he had per[illegible] for a man of his age, in successfully accomplish[illegible] enough to have tested his meridian vigor, [illegible] rather resembled the spring than the [illegible] now seemed unequal to the task he was [illegible] form—to take a last look at "The tomb of [illegible]" He advanced to the effort. A silence [illegible] reigned around, till the strains of [illegible] music completed the grandeur [illegible] of the scene. All hearts beat in [illegible] of the veteran's bosom, as [illegible] time, on the sepulchre which [illegible] the first of men! He spoke [illegible] in the mighty recollections [illegible] inspired.

[illegible]

many military and naval officers and eminent citizens who had assembled in various crafts near the frigate to bid him farewell. The weather had been boisterous and rainy, but just as the affecting scene had closed, the sun burst forth to cheer a spectacle which will long be remembered, and formed a magnificent arch, reaching from shore to shore—the barque which was to bear the venerable chief being immediately in the centre. Propitious omen! Heaven smiles on the good deeds of men! And if ever there was a sublime and virtuous action to be blessed by heaven and admired by men, it is when a free and grateful people unite to do honor to their friend and benefactor!*

* National Intelligencer.

CHAPTER IX.

JOHN ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON — THEIR CORRESPONDENCE — THEIR DEATH — MR. WEBSTER'S EULOGY — JOHN Q. ADAMS — HIS QUINCY — HIS SPEECH AT THE PUBLIC SCHOOL DINNER IN FANEUIL HALL.

THE patriarchs John Adams and Thomas Jefferson still lingered on the shores of time. The former had attained the good old age of 90 years, and the latter [illegible] Adams, the venerable companion of the [illegible] died in Quincy, on the 28th of Oct., 1818, [illegible] Although, amid the various political [illegible] which they had passed during the half [illegible] and taken prominent parts in the affairs [illegible] Jefferson had frequently [illegible] parties, and cherished many [illegible] yet their private friendship and [illegible] continued to [illegible] end of their [illegible] political

MR. JEFFERSON TO MR. ADAMS.

"*Monticello, June 1, 1822.*

"It is very long, my dear sir, since I have written to you. My dislocated wrist is now become so stiff, that I write slowly, and with pain; and therefore write as little as I can. Yet it is due to mutual friendship, to ask once in a while how we do? The papers tell us that General Starke is off, at the age of ninety-three. [illegible] still lives at about the same age, cheerful, slender as a grasshopper, and so much without memory, that he scarcely recognises the members of his household. An intimate friend of his called on him, not long since. It was difficult to make him recollect who he was, and sitting one hour, he told him the same story four times over. Is this life?—with laboring step

> 'To tread our former footsteps? pace the round
> Eternal?—to beat and beat
> The beaten track—to see what we have seen—
> To taste the tasted—o'er our palates to discuss
> Another vintage?'

"It is, at most, but the life of a cabbage, surely not worth a wish. When all our faculties have left, or are leaving us, one by one, sight, hearing, memory, every avenue of pleasing sensation is closed, and athumy, debility, and mal-aise left in their places, when the friends of our youth are all gone, and a generation is risen around us whom we know not, is death an evil?

> 'When one by one our ties are torn,
> And friend from friend is tenfold forlorn,
> When man is left alone to mourn,
> Oh, then, how sweet it is to die!
>
> 'When trembling limbs refuse their weight,
> And time dim glimmering this the light,
> When clouds obscure the mental light,
> 'Tis nature's kindest boon to die!'

"I really think so. I have ever dreaded a decline, [illegible] my health has been generally so good, that [illegible] dread it still. The rapid decline of my strength, [illegible] winter, has made me hope sometimes, that [illegible] summer, I enjoy its temperature, but I [illegible]

winter, and wish I could sleep through it, with the dormouse, and only wake with him in spring, if ever. They say that Starke could walk about his room. I am told you walk well and firmly. I can only reach my garden, and that with sensible fatigue. I ride, however, daily; but reading is my delight. I should wish never to put pen to paper; and the more because of the treacherous practice some people have, of publishing one's letters without leave. Lord Mansfield declared it a breach of trust, and punishable at law. I think it should be a penitentiary felony; yet you will have seen that they have drawn me out into the arena of the newspapers. Although I know it is too late for me to buckle on the armor of youth, yet my indignation would not permit me passively to receive the blows of an ass.

"To return to the news of the day, it seems that the cannibals of Europe are going to eat one another again. A war between Russia and Turkey is like the battle of the kite and snake; which-soever destroys the other, leaves a destroyer the less for the world. This propensive humor of mankind seems to be the law of his nature, lest the species to too great multiplication, provided in [illegible] of the universe. The cocks of the hen-yard kill [illegible] hens, too, do the same, and the horse in his [illegible] young males, until, worn down with age and [illegible] kills him. * * * * * * I hope we shall [illegible] the Quaker policy in, and that the [illegible] And it is [illegible] of one part of the [illegible] to the other parts. Let the latter [illegible] while the Russian holds her [illegible] and give [illegible] think [illegible]

[illegible]

"In [illegible]"

so overstrained that I cannot write a line. Poor Stuthe remembered nothing, and could talk of nothing but the battle of Bennington! ******** is not quite so reduced. I cannot mount my horse, but I can walk three miles over a rugged, rocky mountain, and have done it within a month; yet I feel, when sitting in my chair, as if I could not rise out of it; and when risen, as if I could not walk across the room. My sight is very dim, hearing pretty good, memory poor enough.

"I answer your question,—Is death an evil? It is not an evil. It is a blessing to the individual and to the world; yet we ought not to wish for it, till life becomes insupportable. We must wait the pleasure and convenience of the 'Great Teacher.' Winter is as terrible to me as to you. I am almost reduced in it to the life of a bear or a torpid swallow. I cannot read, but my delight is to hear others read; and I tax all my friends most unmercifully and tyrannically against their consent.

"The ass has kicked in vain; all men say the dull animal has missed the mark.

"This globe is a theatre of war; its inhabitants are all heroes. The little eels in vinegar, and the animalcules in pepper-water, I believe, are quarrelsome. The bees are as warlike as the Bohemians, Russians, Britons, or Frenchmen. Ants, caterpillars, and cankerworms are the only tribes among whom I have not seen battles; and Heaven itself, if we believe Hindoos, Jews, Christians, and Mahometans, has not always been at peace. We need not trouble ourselves about these things, nor fret ourselves because of evil doers; but safely trust the 'Ruler with his skies.' Nor need we dread the approach of dotage; let it come if it must. ******, it seems, still delights in his four stories; and Starke remembered to the last his Bennington, and exulted in his glory; the worst of the dotage, that our friends will suffer more by our imbecility than we ourselves.

* * * * * * * * *

"In wishing for your health and happiness, I am very selfish; for I hope for more letters. This is worth more than five hundred dollars to me; for it has already given me, and will [illegible] me, more pleasure than a thousand. My [illegible] age, I am told, experiences more decay than [illegible]

"I am your old friend, [illegible]

This correspondence excited attention in Europe. The editor of the London Morning Chronicle prefaces it with the following remarks:—

"What a contrast the following correspondence of the two rival Presidents of the greatest Republic of the world, reflecting an old age dedicated to virtue, temperance, and philosophy, presents to the heart-sickening details, occasionally disclosed to us, of the miserable beings who fill the thrones of the continent. There is not, perhaps, one sovereign of the continent, who in any sense of the word [illegible] to honor our nature, while many make us almost [illegible] of it. The curtain is seldom drawn aside without exhibiting to us beings worn out with vicious indulgence, diseased in [illegible], or in body, the creatures of caprice and insensibility. On [illegible] hand, there the foundation of the American Republic, the [illegible] filled by a man, for whose life (to say the [illegible] need once to blush. It must, therefore, be [illegible] the Americans for the absence of pure mon[illegible] but upwards their eyes are not always [illegible] and often idiocy."

[illegible] joined his fellow-citizens of Quincy, [illegible] the 4th of July, 1823, at the age [illegible] called upon for a toast, he gave

[illegible]

it was followed by soft and interrupted interjections and aspirations, as if each individual was casting up an ejaculatory prayer, that the two illustrious sages might pass the remainder of their days in tranquillity and ease, and finally be landed on the blissful shores of a happy eternity.

In September, 1825, President Adams, with his family, left Washington, on a visit to his venerable father, at Quincy. He travelled without ostentation, and especially requested that no public display might be manifested. At Philadelphia, Mrs. Adams was taken ill, and the President was compelled to proceed without her. This visit was of short duration. Called back to Washington by public affairs, he left Quincy on the 14th of October. It was his last interview on earth with his venerated parent. The aged patriarch had lived to see his country emancipated from foreign thraldom, its independence acknowledged, its union consummated, its prosperity and perpetuity resting on an immovable foundation, and his son elevated to the highest office in its gift. It was enough! His work accomplished—the book of his eventful life written and sealed for immortality—he was ready to depart and be at peace.

The 4th of July, 1826, will long be [illegible] for one of the most remarkable [illegible] that has ever taken place in the history of [illegible] the fiftieth anniversary—the "[illegible] independence!" Preparations had been [illegible] throughout

the Union, to celebrate the day with unusual pomp and display. John Adams and Thomas Jefferson had both been invited to participate in the festivities of the occasion, at their several places of abode. But a higher summons awaited them! they were bidden to a [illegible] above, which shall have no end! On that [illegible] anniversary of American Independence, at nearly the same hour of the day, the spirits of Adams and Jefferson took their departure from earth!! Amid the rejoicings of the people, the peals of artillery, the [illegible] of music, the exultations of a great nation [illegible] freedom, peace, and happiness, they [illegible] the toils of life, and allowed to en-

[illegible] the mover, the other the framer, of [illegible] of Independence—they had [illegible] and the honors of the rev- [illegible] their country in various impor- [illegible] capacities—had both received the [illegible] of their fellow-citizens—had [illegible] to which they assisted in giving [illegible] among the nations of the [illegible] and, [illegible] peace—

ple—together they rejoiced in the success with which a wise and good Providence had crowned their labors—and together, on their country's natal day, amid the loud-swelling acclamations of the "national jubilee," their freed spirits soared to light and glory above!

The venerable ex-President Adams had been failing for several days before the 4th of July. In reply to an invitation from a committee of the citizens of Quincy, to unite with them in celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of American independence, he had written a note, from which the following is an extract:—

"The present feeble state of my health will not permit me to indulge the hope of participating with more than my best wishes, in the joys, and festivities, and the solemn services of that day on which will be completed the fiftieth year from its birth, of the independence of the United States: a memorable epoch in the annals of the human race, destined in future history to form the *brightest* or the *blackest* page, according to the use or the abuse of those political institutions by which they shall, in time to come, be [illegible] by the human mind."

Being solicited for a toast, to accompany the letter, he gave—"INDEPENDENCE FOREVER!!" He was asked if anything should be added to it. Immediately he replied—"*Not a word!*" This toast was drank at the celebration in Quincy, about fifty minutes before the departure of the venerated statesman from earth.

On the morning of the 4th, which was [illegible] by the ringing of bells and firing of cannon, [illegible] asked if he knew what day it was?—"O yes, [illegible] plied, "it is the glorious fourth of July—[illegible]

God bless you all!!" In the course of the day he said, "It is a great and glorious day." The last words he uttered were, "Jefferson survives!" But the spirit of Jefferson had already left the body, and was hovering over the earth, to accompany his to higher and brighter scenes of existence!!

Mr. Jefferson had been sensible for some days, that his last hour was at hand. He conversed with his family and friends, with the utmost composure, of his departure, and gave directions concerning his coffin and his funeral. He was desirous that the latter should take place at Monticello, and that it should be without any display or parade. On Monday he inquired the day of the month? Being told it was the [illegible] he expressed an earnest desire that he might be allowed to behold the light of the next day—the [illegible] anniversary of American independence. [illegible] and answered. He beheld the [illegible] on the morning of the 4th, which [illegible] morning, the last of two of its [illegible] and its brightest ornaments. He [illegible] Adams, or the prophet, being [illegible] the physician, "Well doctor, [illegible] the strength will honors."

[illegible]

the smallest solicitude as to the result." Some individual present uttering a hope that he might recover, he asked with a smile—"Do you think I fear to die?" Thus departed Thomas Jefferson. His last words were—"I resign my soul to my God, and my daughter to my country!"

President J. Q. Adams receiving intelligence at Washington of the illness of his father, started immediately for Quincy. Shortly before arriving at Baltimore, tidings reached him that the patriarch had gone to his rest. Mr. Adams pursued his journey, but did not arrive at Quincy in season to be present at the funeral. This took place on the 7th of July. It was attended by a large body of citizens, assembled from the surrounding region. The funeral services took place at the Unitarian church in Quincy, on which occasion an impressive discourse was delivered by the Pastor, Rev. Mr. Whitney. The pall-bearers were Judge Davis, President Kirkland, Gov. Lincoln, Hon. Mr. Greenleaf, Judge Story, and Lieut. Gov. Winthrop. During the exercises and the moving of the procession, minute guns were fired from Mount Wollaston, and from various eminences in the adjoining towns, and every mark of respect was paid to the remains of one who filled so high a place in the history of his country and the regard of his fellow-citizens.

On the 2d of August, Mr. [illegible] eulogy on the death of Adams and [illegible]

the city authorities of Boston, and a vast body of people, in Faneuil Hall. President Adams was present. It was one of Mr. Webster's most eloquent and successful attempts. He commenced as follows:—

"This is an unaccustomed spectacle. For the first time, fellow-citizens, badges of mourning shroud the columns and overhang the [illegible] of this hall. These walls, which were consecrated, so long ago, to the cause of American liberty, which witnessed her infant struggles and rang with the shouts of her earliest victories, proclaim now, that distinguished friends and champions of that great cause have fallen. It is right that it should be thus. The tears which [illegible] honors that are paid, when the Founders of the Republic die, give hope that the Republic itself may be immortal. It is [illegible] that by public assembly and solemn observance, by anthem and [illegible] commemorate the services of national benefactors, ex[illegible] and render thanks to God for eminent blessings, [illegible] continued to our favored country.

[illegible] are no more; and we are assembled, [illegible] the aged, the middle-aged and the young, by the [illegible] of all, under the authority of the municipal [illegible] of the chief magistrate of the com[illegible] of its official representatives, the university, [illegible] have our part in these manifestations of [illegible] ADAMS [illegible] great [illegible] the [illegible]

merits, your affectionate gratitude for their labors and sacrifices. It is not my voice, it is this cessation of ordinary pursuits, this assembling of all attention, those solemn ceremonies, and this crowded house, which speak their eulogy. Their fame, indeed, is safe. That is now treasured up, beyond the reach of accident. Although no sculptured marble should rise to their memory, nor engraved stone bear record to their deeds, yet will their remembrance be as lasting as the land they honored. Marble columns may, indeed, moulder into dust, time may erase all impress from the crumbling stone, but their fame remains; for with American liberty it rose, and with American liberty only can it perish. It was the last swelling peal of yonder choir—'THEIR BODIES ARE BURIED IN PEACE, BUT THEIR NAME LIVETH EVERMORE!' I catch that solemn song, I echo that lofty strain of funeral triumph! '*Their name liveth evermore.*'

* * * * * * * * *

"It cannot be denied, but by those who would dispute against the sun, that with America, and in America, a new era commences in human affairs. This era is distinguished by free representative governments, by entire religious liberty, by improved systems of national intercourse, by a newly-awakened and an unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, and by a diffusion of knowledge through the community, such as has been before altogether unknown and unheard of. America, America, our country, fellow-citizens, our own dear and native land, is inseparably connected, fast bound up, in fortune and by fate, with these great interests. If they fall, we fall with them; if they stand, it will be because we have upheld them. Let us contemplate, then, this connection, which links the prosperity of others to our own; and let us manfully discharge all the duties which it imposes. If we cherish the virtues and the principles of our fathers, heaven will assist us to carry on the work of human liberty, and human happiness. Auspicious omens cheer us; great examples are before us: our own firmament now shines brightly upon our path: WASHINGTON is in the clear upper sky; other stars have now joined the American constellation; they shine around their centre, and the heavens bless with [illegible] beneath this illumination. Let us walk the heaven [illegible] close [illegible] around our beloved country [illegible] we all to the Divine Benignity."

During this visit at the East, at this time, President J. Q. Adams attended the annual examination of the public schools in Boston, and was present at the public dinner given in Faneuil Hall, to the school committee, teachers, and most meritorious scholars. In reply to a complimentary toast from the Mayor, Mr. Adams responded as follows:—

"Mr. Mayor, and my Fellow-citizens of Boston:—A few days since, we were assembled in this Hall, as the house of mourning—in commemoration of the two last survivors of that day which had proclaimed at once our independence and our existence as a nation. We are now assembled within the same walls, at the house of feasting—at the festival of fathers rejoicing in the progressive improvement of their children.

[illegible] told by the wisest man of antiquity, that it is [illegible] house of mourning, than to the house of feasting. [illegible] would that sentence be, if the house of [illegible] such as this hall but so recently exhibited: [illegible] gratitude—a mourning of faithful affection—a [illegible] consolation and joy. And yet, could the wisest [illegible] upon this happy meeting—of parents par[illegible] bounties of Providence, in mutual gratulation [illegible] of their offspring in moral and [illegible] his maxim, my friends, have said [illegible] house of mourning than to such a house [illegible]

lowed walls that were first resounded the accents of that independence which is now canonized in the memory of those by whom it was proclaimed.

"Was it not there that were formed, to say nothing of him 'fit for the praise of any tongue but mine,'—but was it not there that were formed, and prepared for the conflicts of the mind, for the intellectual warfare which distinguishes your Revolution from all the brutal butcheries of vulgar war, your James Otis, your John Hancock, your Samuel Adams, your Robert Treat Paine, your Elbridge Gerry, your James and your Joseph Warren, and last, not least, your Josiah Quincy, so worthily represented by your Chief Magistrate here at my side?

"Indulge me, fellow-citizens, with the remark, that I have been called to answer to myself these questions, before I could enjoy the happiness, at the very kind invitation of your Mayor and Aldermen, of presenting myself among you this day.

"In conformity to my own inclinations, and to the usages of society, I have deemed it proper, on the recent bereavement I have sustained, to withdraw for a time from the festive intercourse of the world, and in retirement, so far as may be consistent with the discharge of public trusts, to prepare for and perform the additional duties devolving upon me, as a son, and as a parent, from this visitation of heaven. To that retirement I have hitherto been confined; and in departing from it for a single day, I have needed an apology to myself, as I trust I shall need one to you. Seek for it, my fellow-citizens in your own paternal hearts. I have been unable to resist the invitation of the authorities of this my own almost native city, to mingle with her inhabitants in the joyous festivities of this occasion—and, after witnessing, in the visitation of the schools, hundreds and thousands of the rising generation training 'up in the way they should go;' to come here and behold the distinguished proficients of the schools sharing at the festival board the pleasures of their fathers, and to congratulate the fathers on the growing virtues and brightening talents of their children.

"But, fellow-citizens, I will no longer trespass upon your indulgence. I thank you for the sentiment with which you have honored me. I thank you for the many affecting testimonies of kindness and sympathy which I have so often received [illegible]

hands; and will give you as a token of my good wishes, not yourselves, but objects dearer to your hearts. Mr. Mayor, I propose to you for a toast—

"The blooming youth of Boston—May the maturity of the fruit be equal to the promise of the blossom."

CHAPTER X.

MR. ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION—REFUSES TO REMOVE POLITICAL OPPOSERS FROM OFFICE—URGES THE IMPORTANCE OF INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS—APPOINTS COMMISSIONERS TO THE CONGRESS OF PANAMA—HIS POLICY TOWARD THE INDIAN TRIBES — HIS SPEECH ON BREAKING GROUND FOR THE CHESAPEAKE AND OHIO CANAL — BITTER OPPOSITION TO HIS ADMINISTRATION—FAILS OF RE-ELECTION TO THE PRESIDENCY—RETIRES FROM OFFICE.

In administering the Government of the United States, Mr. Adams adhered with rigid fidelity to the principles embodied in his inaugural speech. Believing that "the will of the people is the source, and the happiness of the people the end, of all legitimate government on earth," it was his constant aim to act up to this patriotic principle in the discharge of his duties as chief magistrate. He was emphatically the President of the entire people, and not of a section, or a party. His administration was truly national in its scope, its objects, and its results. His views of the sacred nature of the trust imposed upon him by his fellow-citizens were too exalted to allow him to desecrate the power with which it clothed him to the promotion of party or personal interests. Although he was unmindful of the party which elevated him to

presidency, nor forgetful of the claims of those who yielded sympathy and support to the measures of his administration, yet in all his doings in this respect, his primary aim was the general good. Simply a friendship for him, or his measures, without other and requisite qualifications, would not ensure from Mr. Adams an appointment to office. Neither did an opposition to his administration alone, except there was a marked practical unfitness for office, ever induce him to remove an individual from a public station.

Looking back to the administration of Mr. Adams from the present day, and comparing it with those which have succeeded it, or even those which preceded it, the acknowledgment must be made by all candid [illegible] that it will lose nothing in purity, patriotism, [illegible] the discharge of all its trusts. He was [illegible] of proscription for opinion's sake. [illegible] integrity, worthy the highest admira- [illegible] that the people at that period were far too [illegible] and appreciate, he would not dis- [illegible] political opponents from public [illegible] supplying, provided they were [illegible] faithful in the discharge [illegible]

gentleman is one of the best officers in the public service. I have had occasion to know his diligence, exactness, and punctuality. On public grounds, therefore, there is no cause of complaint against him, and upon no other will I remove him. *If I cannot administer the Government on these principles, I am content to go back to Quincy!*"* Being in Baltimore on a certain occasion, among those introduced to him was a gentleman who accosted him thus—"Mr. President, though I differ from you in opinion, I am glad to find you in good health." The President gave him a hearty shake of the hand, and replied,—"Sir, in our happy and free country, we can differ in opinion without being enemies."

These anecdotes illustrate the character and principles of Mr. Adams. He knew nothing of the jealousy and bitterness which are gendered, in little minds and hearts, by disparities of sentiment. Freedom of opinion he considered the birthright of every American citizen, and he would in no instance be the instrument of inflicting punishment upon the head of any man on account of its exercise. High-toned in all his aims, he sought to reach them by measures of a corresponding character. If he could not succeed in the use of such instruments, he was content to meet defeat. The rule by which he was governed in the discharge of his official duties, is beautifully expressed by the dramatic bard:—

"Be just and fear not.
Let all the ends thou aim'st at, be thy COUNTRY'S,
Thy GOD'S, and TRUTH'S. Then if thou fall'st, O Cromwell,
Thou shalt a blessed martyr!"

In the truly republican position which Mr. Adams took in regard to appointments to office, and which, it is humiliating to believe, was one means of his subsequent defeat, he but faithfully imitated the example of "the Father of his country." When Gen. Washington occupied the presidential chair, application was made for the appointment of one of his old confidential friends to a lucrative office. At the same time an application was received asking the same station from a most determined political opponent. The latter obtained the appointment. The friend was greatly disappointed and hurt in his feelings at his defeat. Let the conduct of Washington be noted and ever remembered. "My friend," said he, "I receive with cordial [illegible] welcome to my house, and welcome [illegible] with all his good qualities he is not a [illegible] Hamilton with all his qualities [illegible] from engaging in business. My private [illegible] I [illegible] President of the United [illegible] United [illegible]

one which admitted of acts calculated to rivet the attention, or excite the admiration and applause of the multitude. No crisis occurred in national affairs—no imminent peril from without, or danger within, threatened the well-being of the country! Quietness reigned throughout the world, and the nations were allowed once more to cultivate the arts of peace, to enlarge the operations of commerce, and to fix their attention on domestic interests—the only true fountain of national prosperity. But though lacking in some of the more striking elements of popularity, the administration of Mr. Adams was pre-eminently useful in all its measures and influences. During no Presidential term since the organization of the Government, has more been done to consolidate the Union, and develop its resources, and lay the foundations of national strength and prosperity.

The two great interests which, perhaps, received the largest share of attention from Mr. Adams' administration, were internal improvements and domestic manufactures. A special attention to these subjects was recommended in his messages to Congress, and throughout his term, he failed not to urge these vital matters upon the attention of the people and their representatives. He recommended the opening of national roads and canals—the improvement of the navigation of rivers, and the safety of harbors—the fortifications of coasts, the erection of light houses, piers, and breakwaters. Whatever tended to facilitate the [illegible]

and transportation between extreme portions of the Union—to bring the people of distant sections into a more direct intercourse with each other, and bind them together by ties of a business, social and friendly nature—to promote enterprise, industry, and enlarged views of national and individual prosperity—obtained his earnest sanction and recommendation. To encourage home labor—to protect our infant manufactories from an unfair competition with foreign pauper wages—to foster and build up in the bosom of the country a system of domestic production, which should not only supply home consumption, and afford a home market for raw materials and provisions, the produce of our country, but enable us in due time to compete with foreign nations in sending our manufactures to foreign markets, he added all his influence to the levying of heavy duties on foreign articles, especially such as were produced in our own country. The wisdom of this policy, which tended to promote national independence, and rendered the Union truly independent of the nations and manufactories of foreign countries, is well known, by those who remember the distressed condition of the country, and the danger we ran to become [illegible] of England in [illegible]

by Mr. Clay, the Secretary of State, afforded facilities in this department, from which the country reaped the richest benefit. During the four years of his administration, more treaties were negotiated at Washington than during the entire thirty-six years through which the preceding administrations had extended. New treaties of amity, navigation and commerce, were concluded with Austria, Sweden, Denmark, the Hanseatic League, Prussia, Colombia, and Central America. Commercial difficulties and various arrangements of a satisfactory character, were settled with the Netherlands, and other European Governments. The claims of our citizens against Sweden, Denmark and Brazil, for spoliations of commerce, were satisfactorily consummated.

"As time advances, the evidences are accumulating on all sides, that the administration of John Quincy Adams was one of the most wise, patriotic, public, just, and wealth-producing, in the history of the country; and no small part of that benefit may justly be ascribed to the aid he received from his Secretary of State. Mr. Adams himself was a great statesman, bred in that school of statesmen, and all his life exercised in that business of state, with recognized skill, and apparently fidelity. The seven years immediately preceding the administration of Mr. Adams, was a period of great commercial embarrassment and distress; and the [illegible] years subsequent to his entrance on the duties of state, [illegible]

executive, was a period of great public and private prosperity."*

While Mr. Adams was thus seeking to foster and encourage the industrial and monetary interests of the country, he was not forgetful of the important claims of literature and science. President Washington, during his administration, had repeatedly urged on Congress the importance of establishing a national university at the capital; and he had located and bequeathed a site for that purpose. But his appeals on this subject had been in vain. In Mr. Adams's first message, he earnestly called on Congress to carry into execution this recommendation of the Father of his Country—insisting that "among the first, perhaps the very first instrument for the improvement of the condition of men, is knowledge; and to the acquisition of much of the knowledge adapted to the wants, the comforts, and the enjoyment of human life, public institutions and seminaries of learning are essential."

[illegible] Mr. Adams recommended the [illegible] national observatory. "Connected [illegible] of an university," he said, "or, [illegible] he undertakes the erection of [illegible] observatory, with provision for the [illegible] in constant attendance [illegible]

mark may be made, that, on the comparatively small territorial surface of Europe, there are existing upwards of one hundred and thirty of these light-houses in the skies; while, throughout the whole American hemisphere, there is not one. If we reflect a moment upon the discoveries which, in the last four centuries, have been made in the physical constitution of the universe, by the means of these buildings, and of observers stationed in them, shall we doubt of their usefulness to every nation? And while scarcely a year passes over our heads without bringing some new astronomical discovery to light, which we must fain receive at second hand from Europe, are we not cutting ourselves off from the means of returning light for light, while we have neither observatory nor observer upon our half of the globe, and the earth revolves in perpetual darkness to our unsearching eyes?"

It is humiliating to reflect that neither of these recommendations received an encouraging response from Congress. The latter suggestion, indeed, excited the ridicule of many of the opposers of Mr. Adams's "a light-house in the skies," became a term of reproach in their midst. In this, however, it must be confessed, their ridicule was greatly at the expense of their intelligence, their public spirit, and their devotion to the highest interests of man. There are few instances more mortifying to an American citizen than that while so large a portion of the resources of our national Government have been expended in promoting

party measures, rewarding partisan services, and promoting sectional and personal schemes, little or nothing has been devoted to the encouragement of the arts and sciences, and the cultivation of those higher walks of human attainment which exalt and refine a people, and fit them for the purest and sweetest enjoyments of life.

It was during the first year of his administration, that the attention of Mr. Adams was called to a proposed Congress of all the Republics on the American Continent, to meet at Panama. The objects designed to be accomplished by such a Congress have been variously [illegible] It has been believed by some to have been [illegible] purpose of opposing a supposed project, [illegible] by the Allied Powers of Europe, of combin[illegible] purpose of reducing the American Republics [illegible] condition of European vassalage. Be[illegible] the Panama Congress, among its objects, [illegible] cementing of the friendly relations of all [illegible] of America, and the forming of [illegible] to act as an umpire to settle [illegible] between them.

[illegible] advised to send representa[illegible] view [illegible]

then be in existence between any of the South American Republics and other powers. The acceptance of this invitation was announced by Mr. Adams in his first message to Congress. This was immediately followed by the nomination of Messrs. Richard C. Anderson and John Sargeant, as commissioners to the Congress of Panama, and Wm. B. Rochester, of New York, as secretary of the commission. These nominations were confirmed by the Senate; and an appropriation was voted by the House of Representatives, after strong opposition and much delay, to carry the contemplated measure into effect.

But the United States Government was never represented in the Panama Congress. The proceedings in the House of Representatives on this subject had been so protracted, that it was found too late for Mr. Sargeant to reach Panama in season for the meeting of the Congress, which took place on the 22nd of June, 1826. Mr. Anderson, who was then minister at Colombia, on receiving his instructions, commenced his journey to Panama; but on reaching Carthagena he was seized with a malignant fever, which terminated his [illegible]

During the second session of the [illegible] congress, the subject of commercial [illegible] British West India Colonies was thoroughly [illegible] The British Parliament had [illegible] on the trade of the United States [illegible] though it could be pursued at [illegible]

were introduced into both houses of Congress, for the protection of the interests of American merchants, trading with the British Colonies; but the Senate and House failing to agree on the details of the proposed measures, nothing was done to effect the desired object. Congress having adjourned without passing any law to meet the restrictive measures of Great Britain, President Adams, on the 17th of March, 1827, agreeably to a law passed three years before, issued a proclamation closing the ports of the United States against vessels from the British colonies, until the restrictive measures of the British Government should [illegible]

[illegible] pursued by Mr. Adams toward the [illegible] within the United States, was pacific and [illegible] position they held toward the General [illegible] of an unsettled and embarrassing [illegible] a species of independence, and [illegible] their own enactment, they were, [illegible] as the Government of the [illegible] and were, in fact, wholly [illegible] of Mr. Monroe's ad- [illegible] Congress, on the 27th of [illegible]

was modified during Mr. Adams's administration. It finally resulted in a plan of removing west of the Mississippi such individuals among the various tribes as would consent to go under the inducements held out; and allowing the remainder to continue in their old abode, occupying each a small tract of land. This policy has since been pursued by the General Government, and has resulted in the removal of most of the aborigines beyond the western shores of the Mississippi.

These removals, however, have been attended with no little difficulty, and at times have led to collisions which have assumed a serious aspect. An instance of this description occurred during the first year Mr. Adams occupied the presidential chair. In 1825, a compact was formed between the General Government and the State of Georgia, in which it was agreed, that in consequence of the relinquishment, on the part of Georgia, of all her claim to the land set off in the then new Mississippi Territory, the General Government, at its own expense, should obtain a relinquishment, from the Creek Indians, of all their lands within the State of Georgia, "whenever it could be [illegible] done upon reasonable terms."

In compliance with this agreement, the [illegible] States had extinguished the Indian title to [illegible] millions of acres of land. At the close of Mr. [illegible] administration, over nine millions of [illegible] remained by the Indians. The [illegible]

Georgia became very anxious to obtain possession of this also. At the solicitation of Gov. Troup, President Madison sent two Commissioners to make a treaty with the Creeks, for the purchase of their lands, and the removal of the Indians beyond the Mississippi. But the Creeks, having begun to appreciate and enjoy the comforts of civilization, and the advantages of the arts and sciences, which had been introduced into their midst, refused to treat on the subject, and passed a law in the General Council of their nation, forbidding, on pain of death, the sale of any of their lands. After the close of the council, a few of the Creeks, influenced by a chief named M'Intosh, met the United States Commissioners, and formed a treaty on their responsibility, ceding to the General Government [illegible] lands in Georgia and Alabama. When [illegible] of this treaty was circulated among the [illegible] were filled with indignation. Their [illegible] resolved not to sanction a [illegible] manner so dishonorable and [illegible] a party of Indians to the resi- [illegible] who immediately shot him and [illegible] the treaty with him.

[illegible] was presented to Wash- [illegible]

lay out the land in lots, which were to be distributed among the white inhabitants of Georgia, by lottery. The Indians resisted this encroachment, and prepared to defend their rights by physical force—at the same time sending to Washington for protection from the General Government. The authorities of Georgia insisted upon a survey, and ordered out a body of militia to enforce it.

On hearing of this state of affairs, President Adams despatched a special agent to inquire into the facts of the case. After due investigation, the agent reported that the treaty had been obtained by bad faith and corruption, and that the Creeks were almost unanimously opposed to the cession of their lands. On receiving this report, the President determined to prevent the survey ordered by the Governor of Georgia, until the matter could be submitted to Congress, and ordered Gen. Gaines to proceed to the Creek country with a body of United States troops, to prevent collision between the Indians and the Georgia forces.

On the 5th of February, Mr. Adams transmitted a message to Congress, giving a statement of these transactions, and declaring his determination to [illegible] the duty of protection the nation owed to [illegible] as guaranteed by treaty, by all the force [illegible] mand. "That the arm of military [illegible] tinued, "will be resorted to only in [illegible] failure of all other expedients [illegible]

pledge has been given by the forbearance to employ it at this time. It is submitted to the wisdom of Congress to determine whether any further acts of legislation may be necessary or expedient to meet the emergency which these transactions may produce."

The committee of the House of Representatives, to which this message was referred, reported that it "is expedient to procure a cession of the Indian lands in the State of Georgia, and that until such a cession is procured, the law of the land, as set forth in the treaty at Washington, ought to be maintained by all necessary constitutional, and legal means." The firmness [illegible] of President Adams undoubtedly prevented the unhappy consequences of a collision between the people of Georgia and the Creek Indians. [illegible] was opened with the Indians, by [illegible] President, which resulted in declaring [illegible] null and void, and in obtaining, at [illegible] all the lands of the Creeks within [illegible] to the General Government.

[illegible] and promoter of internal improvements, was invited to be present at the [illegible] on the [illegible]

President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, with a large concourse of citizens, embarked on board of steamboats and ascended the Potomac, to the place selected for the ceremony. On reaching the ground, a procession was formed, which moved around it so as to leave a hollow space, in the midst of a mass of people, in the centre of which was the spot marked out by Judge Wright, the Engineer of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, for the commencement of the work. A moment's pause here occurred, while the spade, destined to commence the work, was selected by the committee of arrangements, and the spot for breaking ground was precisely denoted.

At that moment the sun shone out from behind a cloud, giving an appearance of the highest animation to the scene. Amidst an intense silence, the Mayor of Georgetown handed to Gen. Mercer, the President of the Canal Company, the consecrated instrument; which, having received, he stepped forward from the resting column, and addressed as follows the listening multitude :—

"Fellow-citizens: There are moments in the [illegible] which are the counters of whole ages. There are [illegible] monuments of which, surviving every other [illegible] [illegible] istence, eternize the nation to whose history they [illegible] other vestiges of its glory have disappeared from [illegible] such a moment have we now arrived. Such [illegible] now to found."

Turning towards the President of the United States, who stood near him, Mr. M. proceeded:—

"Mr. President: On a day hallowed by the fondest recollections, beneath this cheering (may we not humbly trust auspicious) sky, surrounded by the many thousand spectators who look on us with joyous anticipation; in the presence of the representatives of the most polished nations of the old and new worlds; on a spot where little more than a century ago the painted savage held his nightly orgies; at the request of the three cities of the District of Columbia, I present to the Chief Magistrate of the most powerful Republic on earth, for the most noble purpose that was ever conceived by man, the plough, instrument of rural labor, a symbol of the favorite occupation of our countrymen. May the use to which it is about to be devoted prove the prosperous, to our beloved country, of improved agriculture, of [illegible] diversified arts, of extended commerce and navigation, [illegible] its social and moral influence with the principles [illegible] constitution under which you have been called [illegible] American people, may it become a safeguard of [illegible] independence, and a bond of perpetual union!

[illegible] of this vast assembly I unite my fervent [illegible] and awful Being without whose favor all [illegible] vain, that he will crown your labor with his [illegible] immortality."

[illegible] the President of the [illegible] whom Gen. Mercer had presented [illegible] with an exhalation of [illegible] that his whole [illegible] assembly of [illegible]

a prediction which, to those of us whose lot has been cast by Divine Providence in these regions, contains not only a precious promise, but a solemn injunction of duty, since upon our energies, and upon those of our posterity, its fulfilment will depend. For with reference to what principle could it be that Berkely proclaimed this, the last, to be the noblest empire of time? It was, as he himself declares, on the transplantation of learning and the arts to America. Of learning and the arts. The four first acts—the empires of the old world, and of former ages—the Assyrian, the Persian, the Grecian, the Roman empires—were empires of conquest, dominions of man over man. The empire which his great mind, piercing into the darkness of futurity, foretold in America, was the empire of learning and the arts,—the dominion of man over himself, and over physical nature—acquired by the inspirations of genius, and the toils of industry; not watered with the tears of the widow and the orphan; not cemented in the blood of human victims; founded not in discord, but in harmony,—of which the only spoils are the imperfections of nature, and the victory achieved is the improvement of the condition of all. Well may this be termed nobler than the empire of conquest, in which man subdues only his fellow-man.

"To the accomplishment of this prophecy, the first necessary step was the acquisition of the right of self-government, by the people of the British North American Colonies, achieved by the Declaration of Independence, and its acknowledgment by the British nation. The second was the union of all these colonies under one general confederated Government—a task more arduous than that of the preceding separation, but at last effected by the present constitution of the United States.

"The third step, more arduous still than either or both the others, was that which we, fellow-citizens, may now congratulate ourselves, our country, and the world of man, that it is taken. It is the adaptation of the powers, physical, moral, and [illegible] of this whole Union, to the improvement of its own condition, [illegible] moral and political condition, by wise and liberal [illegible] the cultivation of the understanding and the [illegible] schools, and learned institutes—by the pursuit and [illegible] learning and the arts; of its physical condition, by [illegible] to improve the bounties, and to supply the deficiencies [illegible] to stem the torrent in its course; to level the mountain [illegible]

plain; to disarm and fetter the raging surge of the ocean. Undertakings of which the language I now hold is no exaggerated description, have become happily familiar not only to the conceptions, but to the enterprise of our countrymen. That for the commencement of which we are here assembled is eminent among the number. The project contemplates a conquest over physical nature, such as has never yet been achieved by man. The wonders of the ancient world, the pyramids of Egypt, the Colossus of Rhodes, the temple at Ephesus, the mausoleum of Artemisia, the wall of China, shall hide insignificance before it:—insignificance in the mass and momentum of human labor required for the execution—insignificance in comparison of the purposes to be accomplished by the [illegible] contrast. It is, therefore, a pleasing contemplation to [illegible] and patriotic spirits who have so long looked with [illegible] of this undertaking, that it unites the moral [illegible] first, of numerous individuals—secondly, of [illegible] of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria—[illegible] and powerful States of Pennsylvania, Virginia, [illegible] lastly, by the subscription authorized at the re[illegible] of the whole Union.

[illegible] Fellow-citizens. We are informed by the holy [illegible] that, at the creation of man, male and female, the [illegible] their Maker, blessed them, and said unto [illegible] and replenish the earth, and subdue [illegible] was, therefore, one of the first duties [illegible] and even in his fallen condition, it [illegible] of his contemplation. To subdue [illegible] purpose of this undertaking, to the [illegible] of the agents in man to be [illegible] hand. I invite you to witness [illegible] this act, [illegible]

I call upon you to join me in fervent supplication to Him from whom that primitive injunction came, that he would follow with his blessing, this joint effort of our great community, to perform his will in the subjugation of the earth for the improvement of the condition of man—that he would make it one of his chosen instruments for the preservation, prosperity, and perpetuity of our Union—that he would have in his holy keeping all the workmen by whose labors it is to be completed—that their lives and their health may be precious in his sight; and that they may live to see the work of their hands contribute to the comforts and enjoyments of millions of their countrymen.

"Friends and brethren: Permit me further to say, that I deem the duty, now performed at the request of the President and Directors of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, and the Corporations of the District of Columbia, one of the most fortunate incidents of my life. Though not among the functions of my official station, I esteem it as a privilege conferred upon me by my fellow-citizens of the District. Called, in the performance of my service, heretofore as one of the representatives of my native commonwealth in the Senate, and now as a member of the executive departments of the Government, my abode has been among the inhabitants of the District longer than at any other spot upon earth. In availing myself of this occasion to return to them my thanks for the numberless acts of kindness that I have experienced at their hands, may I be allowed to assign it as a motive, operating upon the heart, and superadded to my official obligations, for taking a deeper interest in their welfare and prosperity. Among the prospects of futurity which we may indulge the rational hope of seeing realized by the junction of distant waters, that of the auspicious influence which it will exercise over the fortunes of every portion of this District is one upon which my mind dwells with unqualified pleasure. It is my fervent prayer that they may not be disappointed.

"It was observed that the first step towards the [illegible] of the glorious destinies of our country was the Declaration of Independence. That the second was the union of [illegible] our federative Government. The third is [illegible]

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distance from the open space, but could be [illegible] this union, which a long and [illegible] since this after Mr. Adams had mastered the difficulty, no [illegible]

act upon the commencement of which we are now engaged. What time more suitable for this operation could have been selected than the anniversary of our great national festival? What place more appropriate from whence to proceed, than that which bears the name of the citizen warrior who led our armies in that eventful contest to the field, and who first presided as the Chief Magistrate of our Union? You know that of this very undertaking he was one of the first projectors; and if in the world of spirits the affections of our mortal existence still retain their sway, may we not, without presumption, imagine that he looks down with complacency and delight upon the scene before and around us?

"But while indulging in a sentiment of joyous exultation at the benefits to be derived from this labor of our friends and neighbors, let us not forget that the spirit of internal improvement is catholic and liberal. We hope and believe that its practical advantages will be extended to every individual in our Union. In praying for the [illegible] upon our task, we ask it with equal zeal and [illegible] every other similiar work in this confederacy; and [illegible] upon that which, on this same day, and perhaps at this [illegible], is commencing from a neighboring city. It is one of the [illegible] in the principle of internal improvement, [illegible] success of one great enterprise, instead of counteracting, [illegible] to the execution of another. May they increase [illegible] language of inspiration, every valley [illegible] and every mountain and hill shall be made low; the [illegible] the rough places plain. Thus shall the prediction [illegible] from prophecy into history; [illegible] our posterity, the last shall prove [illegible]

[illegible] from the first day [illegible]

his policy as President, the opposition had taken its stand, and boldly declared that his administration should be overthrown at every hazard, whatever might be its policy, its integrity, or its success. A favorite candidate, having certain elements of immense popularity with a large class of people, and supported with enthusiasm by his immediate friends, had been defeated in the previous presidential canvass, at a moment when it was thought triumphant success had been secured. Under the exasperation and excitement of this overthrow, it was determined that his more fortunate rival should be displaced at the earliest moment, at whatever cost, though his administration should prove unrivalled in patriotism, and the successful promotion of the general welfare.

The opposition did not fail to seize upon certain points, which, in the exercise of a due degree of adroitness, yielded an ample material for popular declamation and censure. The fact that Mr. Adams had a less number of electoral votes than Gen. Jackson was greatly dwelt upon as positive evidence that the will of the people had been violated in the election of their former to the presidency—although it has since been satisfactorily ascertained that Mr. Adams had a larger number of the primary votes of the people than his prominent opponent.

The charge of "bargain and corruption," [illegible] against Mr. Adams and Mr. Clay, was [illegible] an offensive weapon against the [illegible]

[illegible] presidential canvass. Notwithstanding the charge had been promptly and emphatically denied by the parties implicated, and proof in its support fearlessly challenged—notwithstanding every attempt at evidence to fix it upon them had most signally failed, and involved those engaged therein in utter confusion of face—yet so often, and so boldly was the charge repeated by designing men, so generally and continually was it reiterated by a venal press from one end of the Union to the other, that a majority of the people was driven into its belief, and the fate of Mr. Adams's administration was sealed against him. Subsequent developments have shown, that, in the annals of political warfare, [illegible] never was a charge uttered against eminent public men, so throughly destitute of the shadow of [illegible] as it answered the immediate ends of [illegible] Posterity will do ample justice to all the [illegible] transactions [illegible] which operated seriously to the distr[illegible] [illegible] amalgamation of the [illegible] of Gen. [illegible] in the [illegible]

W. Taylor, the administration candidate. Mr. Stevenson was a supporter of Mr. Crawford in 1824. His election to the Speaker's chair clearly indicated the union of the different sections of the opposition, and foreshadowed too evidently the overthrow of the administration of Mr. Adams.

In this state of things, with a majority of Congress against him, the President was deprived of the opportunity of carrying into execution many important measures which were highly calculated to promote the permanent benefit of the country, and which could not have failed to receive the approbation of the people. A majority of all the committees of both Houses were against him; and for the first time an administration was found without adequate strength in Congress to support its measures. In several instances the reports of committees partook of a strong partisan character, in violation of all rules of propriety and correct legislation.

The first session of the twentieth Congress, which was held immediately preceding the presidential campaign of 1828, was characterized by proceedings which, at this day, all will unite in deciding as highly reprehensible. Instead of attending strictly to the legislative business of the session, much of the time was spent in discussions involving the merits of the opposing candidates for the presidency, and designed to bring public feeling to bear on the election that was to be held. This character was in speculation, introduced

House of Representatives, on the 8th of January, 1828, by Mr. Hamilton, a supporter of Gen. Jackson, to inquire into the expediency of having a historical picture of the battle of New Orleans painted, and placed in the rotunda of the Capitol. This was followed by a resolution, introduced by Mr. Sloane, an administration member, requiring the Secretary of War to furnish the House with a copy of the proceedings of a court-martial ordered by Gen. Jackson, in 1814, for the trial of certain Tennessee militiamen, who were condemned and shot.

At this session of Congress may be dated the introduction of a practice which has become an evil of the greatest magnitude in the present day. Reference is [illegible] of making the halls of Congress a [illegible] instead of attending to the legiti- [illegible] legislating for the benefit of the coun- [illegible] political gladiators spend much of their [illegible] contests, designed solely for the promo- [illegible] purposes, to the neglect of the [illegible] Since this has grown [illegible] the [illegible] topics [illegible]

him. Had he chosen to turn the vast influence at his command to the promotion of personal ends—had he unscrupulously ejected from office all political opposers, and supplied their places with others who would have labored, with all the means at their disposal, in his behalf—little doubt can be entertained that he could have secured his re-election. But he utterly refused to resort to such measures. Believing he was promoted to his high position not for his individual benefit, but to advance the welfare of the entire country, his view of duty was too elevated and pure to allow him to desecrate the trust reposed in him to personal ends. Hence the influence derived from the patronage of the General Government was turned against the administration rather than in its behalf; and the singular spectacle was presented of men exerting every nerve to overthrow Mr. Adams, who were dependent upon him for the influence they wielded against him, and for their very means of subsistence.

A hotly contested political campaign ensued in the fall of 1828. In view of the peculiar combination of circumstances, and of the means resorted to by the opposing parties to secure success, the result could be foreseen with much certainty. Gen. Jackson was elected President of the United States, and inaugurated on the 4th of March, 1829.

Thus closed the administration of John Quincy Adams. At the call of his country, he [illegible] the highest station in its gift. [illegible]

uprightness which have not been surpassed, he discharged his important trust to the lasting benefit of all the vital interests which tend to build up a great and prosperous people. And at the call of his country he relinquished the honors of office, and willingly retired to the private walks of life.

No man can doubt that Mr. Adams could look back upon his labors while President with the utmost satisfaction. "During his administration new and increased activity was imparted to those powers vested in the Federal Government for the development of the resources of the country, and the public revenue was liberally expended in prosecuting those liberal measures, on which the sanction of Congress had been deliberately given, as the settled policy of the Government. [illegible] million of dollars had been expended [illegible] maintaining the light-house establish- [illegible] million in completing the public build- [illegible] in erecting arsenals, barracks, and [illegible] nearly the same [illegible] permanent additions to [illegible] of three millions [illegible] and [illegible] the improving the [illegible]

administration, than during the administrations of all his predecessors. Other sums, exceeding a million, had been appropriated for objects of a lasting character, and not belonging to the annual expense of the Government; making in the whole nearly fourteen millions of dollars expended for the permanent benefit of the country, during this administration.

"At the same time the interest on the public debt was punctually paid, and the debt itself was in a constant course of reduction, having been diminished $30,373,188 during his administration, and leaving due on the 1st of January, 1829, $58,362,136. While these sums were devoted to increasing the resources and improving the condition of the country, and in discharging its pecuniary obligations, those claims which were derived from what are termed the imperfect obligations of gratitude and humanity were not forgotten.

"More than five millions of dollars were appropriated to solace the declining years of the surviving officers of the Revolution; and a million and a half expended in extinguishing the Indian title, and defraying the expense of the removal beyond the Mississippi of such tribes as were unqualified for a residence near civilized communities, and in promoting the civilization of those who, relying on the faith of the United States, preferred to remain on the lands which were the abodes of their fathers.

"In the condition which we have [illegible]

peace with all the world, with an increasing revenue and with a surplus of $5,125,638 in the public treasury, —the administration of the Government of the United States was surrendered by Mr. Adams on the 3d of March, 1829."*

The "Georgia Constitutionalist" thus describes Mr. Adams' retirement from office:—"Mr. Adams is said to be in good health and spirits. The manner in which this gentleman retired from office is so replete with propriety and dignity, that we are sure history will record it as a laudable example to those who shall hereafter be required by the sovereign people to descend from exalted stations. It was a great matter with the [illegible] to die with decency, and there are some of our own day whose deaths are more admirable than [illegible] Mr. Adams' deportment in the Presidency [illegible] good; but the smile with which he [illegible] the trappings of power, and the graceful [illegible] he takes leave of patronage and [illegible]

CHAPTER XI.

MR. ADAMS' MULTIPLIED ATTAINMENTS—VISITED BY SOUTHERN GENTLEMEN—HIS REPORT ON WEIGHTS AND MEASURES—HIS POETRY—ERECTS A MONUMENT TO THE MEMORY OF HIS PARENTS—ELECTED MEMBER OF CONGRESS—LETTER TO THE BIBLE SOCIETY—DELIVERS EULOGY ON DEATH OF EX-PRESIDENT MONROE.

FEW public men in any country have possessed attainments more varied than were those of Mr. Adams. Every department of literature and science received more or less of his attention—every path of human improvement seems to have been explored by him. As a statesman, he was unrivalled in the profundity of his knowledge. His state papers—given to the world while Minister, Secretary of State, President, and Member of Congress—his numerous addresses, orations, and speeches, are astonishing in number, and in the learning they display.* No man was [illegible]

* Aside from his state papers, official correspondence, and [illegible] which would make many volumes, the Literary World gives the [illegible] ing list of the published writings of Mr. Adams:—[illegible]

"1. Oration at Boston, 1793; 2. Answer to Paine's [illegible] 1793; 3. Address to the Members of the Massachusetts [illegible] Society; 4. Letters on Silesia; 5. Letters on Silesia, [illegible] gural Oration at Harvard College, 1806; 7. Letters [illegible] reply to Timothy Pickering, 1809; 8. Review of the [illegible] Ames, 1809; 9. Lectures on Rhetoric and [illegible]

familiar with modern history, with diplomacy and international law, and the politics of America and Europe for the last two or three centuries.

In other departments he appeared equally at home. His acquaintance was familiar with the classics, and several modern languages. In oratory, rhetoric, and the various departments of belles lettres, his attainments were of more than an ordinary character. His commentaries on Desdemona, and others of Shakspeare's characters, show that he was no mean critic, in the highest walks of literature, and in all that pertains to human character.

The following interesting account of an interview with ex-President Adams, by a southern gentleman, in

[illegible] Rights and Measures, 1831; 11. Oration at Washing- [illegible] Letters; the Fisheries and the Mississippi, [illegible] of Quincy, 1831; 12. Oration on the [illegible] 1831; 13. Dermot McMorrogh, or the Con- [illegible] 16. Letters to Edward Livingston, on Free [illegible] on the entered appren- [illegible] the Life and Character of Lafayette, [illegible] Life and Character of James Madison, 1836; [illegible] 30. Oration delivered at [illegible]

1834, affords some just conceptions of the versatility of his genius, and the profoundness of his erudition:—

"Yesterday, accompanied by my friend T., I paid a visit to the venerable ex-President, at his residence in Quincy. A violent rain setting in as soon as we arrived, gave us from five to nine o'clock to listen to the learning of this man of books. His residence is a plain, very plain one: the room into which we were ushered, (the drawing-room, I suppose,) was furnished in true republican style. It is probably of ancient construction, as I perceived two beams projecting from the low ceiling, in the manner of the beams in a ship's cabin. Prints commemorative of political events, and the old family portraits, hung about the room; common straw matting covered the floor, and two candlesticks, bearing sperm candles, ornamented the mantle-piece. The personal appearance of the ex-President himself corresponds with the simplicity of his furniture. He resembles rather a substantial, well-fed farmer, than one who has wielded the destinies of this mighty Confederation, and been bred in the ceremony and etiquette of an European Court. In fact, he appears to possess none of that sternness of character which you would suppose to belong to one a large part of whose life has been spent in political warfare, or, at any rate, amidst scenes requiring a vast deal of nerve and inflexibility.

"Mrs. Adams is described in a word—a lady. She has all the warmth of heart and ease of manner that mark the character of the southern ladies, and from which it would be no easy matter to distinguish her.

"The ex-President was the chief talker. He spoke with [illegible] ease, drawing upon his vast resources with the certainty of one who has his lecture before him ready written. The [illegible] conversation, which steadily he maintained for nearly [illegible] was a continued stream of light. Well entertained [illegible] listener. His subjects were the architecture of the [illegible] stained glass of that period; sculpture, enlarging [illegible] ticularly. On this subject his opinion of Flaxman's monument in Westminster Abbey, differs from all [illegible] seen or heard. He places it above every [illegible] observed in relation to it, that the [illegible] Milton, Shakspeare, Shenstone, Pope, Byron, and [illegible]

turn [illegible] upon. He gave Pope a wonderfully high character, and remarked that one of his chief beauties was the skill exhibited in varying the cesural pause—quoting from various parts of his author, to illustrate his remarks more fully. He said very little on the politics of the country. He spoke at considerable length of Sheridan and Burke, both o whom he had heard, and could describe with the most graphic effect. He also spoke of Junius; and it is remarkable that he should place him so far above the best of his contemporaries. He spoke of him as a bad man; but maintained, as a writer, that he had never been equalled.

"The conversation never flagged for a moment; and on the whole, I shall remember my visit to Quincy, as amongst the most instructive and pleasant I ever passed."

As a theologian, Mr. Adams was familiar with the tenets of the various denominations which compose the great Christian family, and acquainted with the principal arguments by which they support their peculiar [illegible]. While entertaining decided opinions of his own, which he did not hesitate to avow on all proper occasions, he was tolerant of the sentiments of all who [illegible] [illegible]. He deemed it one of the most [illegible] of every American citizen, and of every [illegible] according to the dictates of his own conscience, without let or hindrance, [illegible] tolerating, and equally protecting [illegible] [illegible] equally at [illegible] secretary of [illegible]

of the utmost value. Adopting the philosophical and unchangeable basis of the modern French system of mensuration, an arc of the meridian, it laid the foundation for the accurate manipulations and scientific calculations of the late Professor Hassler, which have furnished an unerring standard of Weights and Measures to the people of this country. In a very learned notice of "Measures, Weights, and Money," by Col. Pasley, Royal Engineer, F. R. S., published in London, in 1834, he pays the following well-merited compliment to Mr. Adams:—

"I cannot pass over the labors of former writers, without acknowledging in particular, the benefit which I have derived, whilst investigating the historical part of my subject, from a book printed at Washington, in 1821, as an official Report on Weights and Measures, made by a distinguished American statesman, Mr. John Quincy Adams, to the Senate of the United States, of which he was afterwards President. This author has thrown more light into the history of our old English weights and measures, than all former writers on the same subject. His views of historical facts, even where occasionally in opposition to the reports of our own Parliamentary Committees, appear to me to be the most correct. With my own part, I confess that I do not think I could have seen my way into the history of English weights and measures, in the middle ages, without his guidance."

To his other accomplishments Mr. Adams added that of a poet. His pretensions in this [illegible] were humble, yet many of his productions [illegible] hastily, no doubt, during brief respites from [illegible] labors, possess no little merit. A [illegible] not be uninteresting to the reader, [illegible]

The following stanzas are from a hymn by Mr. Adams for the celebration of the 4th of July, 1831, at Quincy, Mass. :—

"Sing to the Lord a song of praise;
Assemble, ye who love his name;
Let congregated millions raise
Triumphant glory's loud acclaim.
From earth's remotest regions come;
Come, greet your Maker, and your King;
With harp, with timbrel, and with drum,
His praise let hill and valley sing.

* * * * * * *

"Go forth in arms; Jehovah reigns;
Their gates let foul oppressors find;
Bind all their sceptred kings in chains;
Their peers with iron fetters bind.
Then to the Lord shall praise ascend;
Then all mankind, with one accord,
And freedom's voice, till time shall end,
[illegible] anthems, praise the Lord."

[illegible] which follow were inscribed to the sun-[illegible] of the hall of the House of [illegible]

"[illegible] Time's silent flight!
[illegible] were thine?
[illegible]

Snatch the retrieveless sunbeam as it flies,
  Nor lose one sand of life's revolving glass—
Aspiring still, with energy sublime,
By virtuous deeds to give eternity to Time."

It is seldom that lines more pure and beautiful can be found, than the following on the death of children :—

"Sure, to the mansions of the blest
  When infant innocence ascends,
Some angel brighter than the rest
  The spotless spirit's flight attends.

"On wings of ecstacy they rise,
  Beyond where worlds material roll,
Till some fair sister of the skies
  Receives the unpolluted soul.

"There at the Almighty Father's hand,
  Nearest the throne of living light,
The choirs of infant seraphs stand,
  And dazzling shine, where all are bright.

"The inextinguishable beam,
  With dust united at our birth,
Sheds a more dim, discolored gleam,
  The more it lingers upon earth:

"Closed is the dark abode of clay,
  The stream of glory faintly burns,
Nor unobscured the lucid ray
  To its own native fount returns:

"But when the Lord of mortal breath [illegible]
  Decrees his bounty to resume,
And points the silent shaft of death,
  Which speeds an infant to the [illegible]

"No passion fierce, no low desire,
Has quenched the radiance of the flame;
Back to its God the living fire
Returns, unsullied, as it came."

The heart which could turn aside from the stern conflicts of the political world, and utter sentiments so chaste and tender, must have been the residence of the sweetest and noblest emotions of man.

Having taken final leave, as he believed, of the duties of public life, and retired to the beloved shades of Quincy, it was the desire and intention of Mr. Adams to devote the remainder of his days to the peaceful pursuits of literature. It had long been his purpose, whenever opportunity should offer, to write a history of the life and times of his venerated father, "the elder Adams." His heart was fixed on this design, and preliminary labors had been commenced. But [illegible] Providence had a widely different work [illegible] had been permitted to follow the bent [illegible] at that time, if he had continued in [illegible] he originally sought as a rest [illegible] the hottest page of [illegible]

a measure of renown with which most men would have been content, and which few of the most fortunate sons of earth can ever attain. He was abundantly satisfied with it. He asked for nothing more—he expected nothing more this side the grave. But it was not enough! Fame was wreathing brighter garlands, a more worthy chaplet, for his brow. A higher, nobler task was before him, than any enterprize which had claimed his attention. His long and distinguished career—his varied and invaluable experience—had been but a preparation to enable him to enter upon the real work of life for which he was raised up.

The world did not yet know John Quincy Adams. Long as he had been before the public, the mass had thus far failed to read him aright. Hitherto circumstances had placed him in collision with aspiring men. He stood in their way to station and power. There was a motive to conceal his virtues and magnify his faults. He had never received from his opponents the smallest share of credit really due to him for patriotism, self-devotion, and purity of purpose. Even his most devoted friends did not fully appreciate these qualities in him. During his long public service, he had ever been an object of hatred and [illegible] a class of minds utterly incapable of [illegible] talents or comprehending his high principles [illegible] In the heat of political struggles, no [illegible] tion, were too great to heap upon him. [illegible] ation, duplicity, malignity, and [illegible]

utter a patriotic sentiment, it was charged to hypocrisy and political cunning. Did he do a noble deed, worthy to be recorded in letters of gold—sacrificing party predilections and friendship to support the interest of his country, and uphold the reputation and dignity of its Government—it was attributed to a wretched pandering for the emoluments of office. Did he endeavor to exercise the powers entrusted to him as President in such a manner as to preserve peace at home and abroad, develope the internal resources of the nation, improve facilities for transportation and travel, protect and encourage the industry of the country, and in every department promote the permanent prosperity and welfare of the people—it was allowed to be nothing [illegible] the arts of an intriguer, seeking a re-[illegible] to the Presidency. Yea, it was declared in [illegible] his administration should be as pure [illegible] heaven," it should be overthrown. [illegible] simplicity of a true republican [illegible] and economy in all his [illegible] to parsimony and mean-[illegible] countrymen had been de-[illegible] character, and sacrificed [illegible] party spirit. [illegible] of man

fellow-citizens refused the boon of credit for these qualities. It remained for another stage of his life, another field of display, to correct them of this error, and to vindicate his character. It was requisite that he should step down from his high position, divorce himself of office, power and patronage, place himself beyond the reach of the remotest suspicion of a desire for political preferment and emolument, to satisfy the world that John Quincy Adams had from the beginning, been a pure-hearted patriot, and one of the noblest sons of the American Confederacy. His new career was to furnish a luminous commentary on his past life, and to convince the most sceptical, of the justice of his claim to rank among the highest and best of American patriots. Placed beyond the reach of any gift of office from the nation, with nothing to hope for, and nothing to fear in this respect, he was to write his name in imperishable characters, so high on the tablets of his country's history and fame, as to be beyond the utmost reach of malignity or suspicion. The door which led to this closing act of his distinguished life, was soon opened.

On returning to Quincy, one of the [illegible] which received the attention of Mr. Adams [illegible] discharge of a filial duty towards his [illegible] in the erection of a monument to [illegible] elder Adams in his will, among other [illegible] had left a sum [illegible] to [illegible]

Unitarian church in Quincy. The edifice was completed, and ex-President J. Q. Adams caused the monument to his father and mother to be erected within the walls. It was a plain and simple design, consisting of a tablet, having recessed pilasters at the sides, with a base moulding and cornice; the whole supported by trusses at the base. The material of which it was made was Italian marble; and the whole was surmounted by a fine bust of John Adams, from the chisel of Greenough, the American artist, then at Rome. The inscription, one of the most feeling, appropriate, and classical specimens extant, was as follows:—

CONSTANTIAM AMICITIAM FIDEM REVINCIBIS.

D. O. M.

Beneath these Walls

Are deposited the Mortal Remains of

JOHN ADAMS,

Son of John and Susanna (Boylston) Adams,

[illegible] President of the United States.

[illegible] 19–30 October, 1735.

[illegible] July, 1776,

[illegible] Liberty, and Sacred Honor

[illegible] EVIDENCE OF HIS COUNTRY.

[illegible] September, 1783,

[illegible] the definitive Treaty with Great Britain,

[illegible]

[illegible] July, 1826,

At his side
Sleeps till the Trump shall sound,
ABIGAIL,
His beloved and only Wife,
Daughter of William and Elizabeth (Quincy) Smith.
In every relation of Life, a pattern
Of Filial, Conjugal, Maternal, and Social Virtue.
Born 11-22 November, 1744.
Deceased 28 October, 1818,
Aged 74.

Married 25 October, 1764.
During a union of more than half a century,
They survived, in Harmony of Sentiment, Principle and Affection,
The Tempests of Civil Commotion;
Meeting undaunted, and surmounting
The Terrors and Trials of that Revolution
Which secured the Freedom of their Country;
Improved the Condition of their Times;
And brightened the Prospects of Futurity
To the Race of Man upon Earth.

PILGRIM!

From lives thus spent thy earthly Duties learn:
From Fancy's Dreams to active Virtue turn:
Let Freedom, Friendship, Faith thy Soul engage,
And serve, like them, thy Country and the Age."

Mr. Adams had remained in the retirement of Quincy but little more than a single year, when the following paragraph appeared in the public prints throughout the country:—

"Mr. Adams, late President of the [illegible] candidate for Congress, from the [illegible] represented by Mr. Richardson, who [illegible]

It would be difficult to determ[illegible]

Speculation was at fault. Would he accept or reject such a nomination? By a large class it was deemed impossible that one who had occupied positions so elevated—who had received the highest honors the nation could bestow upon him—would consent to serve the people of a single district, in a capacity so humble, comparatively, as a Representative in Congress. Such a thing was totally unheard of. The people, however, of the Plymouth congressional district in which he resided, met and duly nominated him for the proposed office. All doubts as to his acceptance of the nomination were speedily dispelled by the appearance of a letter from Mr. Adams, in the Columbian Sentinel, Oct. 15, 1830, in which he says:—

"If my fellow-citizens of the district should think proper to call [illegible] it may be in my power to render them, by representing them in the twenty-second Congress, I am not aware of any [illegible] which would justify me in withholding them. [illegible] of confidence on the part of those portions [illegible] meetings, have seen fit to present [illegible] of the district, I am duly and deeply [illegible]

[illegible] Mr. Adams,

of Mr. Adams seriously questioned the propriety of his appearing as a Representative in the halls of Congress. It was a step never before taken by an ex-President of the United States. They apprehended it might be derogatory to his dignity, and injurious to his reputation and fame, to enter into the strifes, and take part in the litigations and contentions which characterize the national House of Representatives. Moreover, they were fearful that in measuring himself, as he necessarily must, in the decline of life, with younger men in the prime of their days, who were urged by the promptings of ambition to tax every capacity of their nature, he might injure his well-earned reputation for strength of intellect, eloquence and statesmanship. But these misgivings were groundless. In the House of Representatives, as in all places where Mr. Adams was associated with others, he arose immediately to the head of his compeers. So far from suffering in his reputation, it was immeasurably advanced during his long congressional career. New powers were [illegible] oped—new traits of character were manifested [illegible] and repeated instances of devotion to principle [illegible] rights of man were made known—[illegible] brighter lustre to his already widely-[illegible] He exhibited a fund of knowledge [illegible] —a familiarity so perfect with nearly [illegible] claimed the attention of Congress—he [illegible] from his well-replenished storehouse of [illegible] [illegible]

obscured to others—displayed such readiness and power in debate, pouring out streams of purest eloquence, or launching forth the most scathing denunciations when he deemed them called for—that his most bitter opposers, while trembling before his sarcasm, and dreading his assaults, could not but grant him the meed of their highest admiration. Well did he deserve the title conferred upon him by general consent, of "the Old Man Eloquent!"

Had Mr. Adams followed the bent of his own inclinations—had he consulted simply his personal ease and comfort—he would probably never have appeared again in public life. Having received the highest distinction his country could bestow upon him, blessed with an ample fortune, and possessing all the elements of domestic comfort, he would have passed the evening [illegible] sojourn in peaceful tranquillity, at the [illegible] his fathers in Quincy. But it was one of [illegible] distinguished statesman's life, to [illegible] to the demands of duty. His [illegible] and fellow-citizens called him to [illegible] He was con- [illegible] of talents, knowledge, experi- [illegible] would enable [illegible]

ply unhesitatingly with the demand which had been made upon his patriotism. In adopting this resolution —in consenting, after having been once at the head of the National Government, to assume again the labors of public life in a subordinate station, wholly divested of power and patronage, urged by no influence but the claims of duty, governed by no motive but a simple desire to serve his country and promote the well-being of his fellow-man—Mr. Adams presented a spectacle of moral sublimity unequalled in the annals of nations!

For many years Mr. Adams was a member, and one of the Vice Presidents, of the American Bible Society. In reply to an invitation to attend its anniversary in 1830, he wrote the following letter:—

"Sir:—Your letter of the 22d of March was duly received, and while regreting my inability to attend personally at the celebration of the anniversary of the institution, on the 19th of this month, I pray you, sir, to be assured of the gratification which I have experienced in learning the success which has attended the benevolent exertions of the American Bible Society.

"In the decease of Judge Washington, they have lost a [illegible] and valuable associate, whose direct co-operation, and [illegible] laborious and exemplary life, contributed to promote [illegible] the Redeemer. Yet not for him, nor for the [illegible] him, are they called to sorrow as without hope; for [illegible] shine but as purer and brighter lights in the [illegible] which fed them is extinct, than before.

"The distribution of Bibles, if the simplest [illegible] efficacious of the means of extending the [illegible] to the remotest corners of the earth; for the [illegible] sacred volume, and taking its [illegible] [illegible]

awakened thereby, with good will to man in their hearts, and with the song of the Lamb upon their lips?

"The hope of a Christian is inseparable from his faith. Whoever believes in the divine inspiration of the holy Scriptures, must hope that the religion of Jesus shall prevail throughout the earth. Never since the foundation of the world have the prospects of mankind been more encouraging to that hope than they appear to be at the present time. And may the associated distribution of the Bible proceed and prosper, till the Lord shall have made 'bare his holy arm in the eyes of all the nations; and all the ends of the earth shall see the salvation of our God.'

"With many respects to the Board of Managers, please to accept the good wishes of your friend and fellow-citizen,

"JOHN QUINCY ADAMS."

On the 4th of July, 1831, at half past three o'clock in the afternoon, the venerable JAMES MONROE, fifth President of the United States, departed life, aged 73 years. He died at the residence of his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, Esq., in the city of New York. His decease had been for some days expected; but [illegible] until the anniversary of his country's [illegible] when his spirit took its departure to a [illegible] throughout the United States, honors [illegible] by hoisting of flags at half [illegible] hour, firing of minute guns, the [illegible] and delivery of eulogies. He [illegible]

ence of our country, on the anniversary of the day when the declaration of that independence was made to the world. The noise of the firing of cannon in celebrating the day, caused the eyes of the dying patriot to open inquiringly. When the occasion of these rejoicings was communicated to him, a look of [illegible] indicated that he understood the character of the day.

At this anniversary of our National Independence, Mr. Adams delivered an oration before the citizens of Quincy. It was an able and eloquent production. The following were the concluding paragraphs. In reference to nullification, which was threatened by some of the Southern States, he said:—

"The event of a conflict in arms, between the Union and [illegible] its members, whether terminating in victory or defeat, [illegible] an alternative of calamity to all. In the holy scriptures we have two examples of a confederation rupture[illegible] ance of its members, one of which resulted, after [illegible] battles, in the extermination of the seceding tribes. [illegible] torious people, instead of exulting in shouts of triumph [illegible] house of God, and abode there till even, before God; [illegible] their voices, and wept sore, and said,—O Lord God of [illegible] this come to pass in Israel, that there should be to-day [illegible] ing in Israel? The other was a successful [illegible] against tyrannical taxation, and severed forever [illegible] the fragments forming separate kingdoms; and [illegible] history presents an unbroken series of [illegible] exterminating wars of assassinations, [illegible] rebellions, until both parts of the confederacy [illegible] servitude to the nations around them; till [illegible] and Solomon hung their harps upon the [illegible] were totally lost amidst the multitudes of the [illegible] monarchies, the most degraded portion of [illegible]

"In [illegible]

sure, too sure prognostication of our own, from the hour when force shall be substituted for deliberation, in the settlement of our constitutional questions. This is the deplorable alternative—the extirpation of the seceding member, or the never-ceasing struggle of two rival confederacies, ultimately bending the neck of both under the yoke of foreign domination, or the despotic sovereignty of a conqueror at home. May heaven avert the omen! The destinies, not only of our posterity, but of the human race, are at stake.

"Let no such melancholy forebodings intrude upon the festivities of this anniversary. Serene skies and balmy breezes are not congenial to the climate of freedom. Progressive improvement in the condition of man, is apparently the purpose of a superintending Providence. That purpose will not be disappointed. In no delusion of national vanity, but with a feeling of profound gratitude to the God of our fathers, let us indulge in the cheering hope and belief, that our country and her people have been selected as instruments for preparing and maturing much of the good yet in reserve for the welfare and happiness of the human race. Much good has already [illegible] by the solemn proclamation of our principles [illegible] by the illustration of our example. The tem[illegible] desolation may be destined only to purify the [illegible] yet in tranquil ease and enjoyment that the [illegible] are displayed. Toils and dan[illegible] Doomed to the first by his sentence at the [illegible] converts them into pleasures. The last [illegible] conditions of his existence. To see them in [illegible] by all the suggestions of prudence, [illegible] trusting confidence, and to [illegible] the final determination of Him who rules [illegible] of [illegible] and consolations of p[illegible] of them by supposed [illegible]

"In the course of nature, the voice which now addresses you must soon cease to be heard upon earth. Life and all which it inherits lose their value as it draws towards its close. But for most of you, my friends and neighbors, long and many years of futurity are yet in store. May they be years of freedom—years of prosperity—years of happiness, ripening for immortality! But, since the breath which now gives utterance to my feelings the last vital air I should draw, my expiring words to you and your children should be, *Independence and Union forever!*"

A few weeks subsequent to the death of ex-President Monroe, Mr. Adams delivered an interesting and able eulogy on his life and character, before the public authorities of the city of Boston, in Faneuil Hall. In drawing to a conclusion, he used the following language:—

"Our country, by the bountiful dispensations of a [illegible] Heaven, is, and for a series of years has been, [illegible] found peace. But when the first father of our race [illegible] before him, by the archangel sent to announce [illegible] console him in his fall, the fortunes and misfortunes of [illegible] ants, he saw that the deepest of their miseries would [illegible] while favored with all the blessings of peace; and in the [illegible] of his anguish he exclaimed:—

'How I am [illegible]
Peace to corrupt, no less than war to waste.'

"It is the very fervor of the noonday sun, in the [illegible] phere of a summer sky, which breeds

'the sweeping whirlwind's sway,
That, hushed in grim repose, expects his evening prey.'

"You have insured the gallant ship which [illegible] freighted with your lives and your children's fortunes [illegible] of the tempest above, and from the treachery of the [illegible] Beware of the danger against which you [illegible] selves—the latent defect of the gallant ship [illegible]

short days, and forty years will have elapsed since the voice of him who addresses you, speaking to your fathers from this hallowed spot, gave for you, in the face of Heaven, the solemn pledge, that if, in the course of your career on earth, emergencies should arise, calling for the exercise of those energies and virtues which, in times of tranquillity and peace remain by the will of Heaven dormant in the human bosom, you would prove yourselves not unworthy the sires who had toiled, and fought, and bled, for the independence of the country. Nor has that pledge been unredeemed. You have maintained through times of trial and danger the inheritance of freedom, of union, of independence bequeathed you by your forefathers. It remains for you only to transmit the same peerless legacy, unimpaired, to your children of the next succeeding age. To this end, let us join in humble supplication to the Founder of empires and the Creator of all worlds, that he would continue to your posterity the smiles which his favor has bestowed upon you; and, since 'it is not in man that walketh to direct his steps,' that he would enlighten and lead the advancing generation in the way they should go. That in all the perils, and all the mischances which may threaten or befall our United Republic, in after times, he would [illegible] among your sons deliverers to enlighten her councils, [illegible] freedom, and if need be, to lead her armies to victory. [illegible] the gloom of the year of independence ever again over-[illegible], or the metropolis of your empire be once more de-[illegible] under the scourge of an invader's hand,* that there [illegible] arising among the children of your country, [illegible] a statesman to counsel, a chief to direct and [illegible] with all the virtues, and endowed with all the [illegible] equally displayed in the life of James

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[illegible] of Washington, in the war of [illegible]

CHAPTER XII.

MR. ADAMS TAKES HIS SEAT IN CONGRESS—HIS POSITION AND HABITS AS A MEMBER—HIS INDEPENDENCE OF PARTY—HIS EULOGY ON THE DEATH OF EX-PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON—HIS ADVOCACY OF THE RIGHT OF PETITION, AND OPPOSITION TO SLAVERY—INSURRECTION IN TEXAS—MR. ADAMS MAKES KNOWN ITS ULTERIOR OBJECT.

Mr. Adams took his seat in the House of Representatives without ostentation, in December, 1831. His appearance there produced a profound sensation. It was the first time an ex-President had ever entered that Hall in the capacity of a member. He was [illegible] with the highest marks of respect. It presented a singular spectacle to behold members of Congress, who, when Mr. Adams was President, had thrown [illegible] with every species of political corruption, and [illegible] his name with the most opprobrious epithets, [illegible] vieing with one another in bestowing upon him the highest marks of respect and confidence. They [illegible] they denied the President, they freely yielded [illegible] Man. It was the true homage which [illegible] patriotism must ever receive—more honorable [illegible] more grateful to its object, than all the [illegible]

flattery which power and patronage can so easily purchase.

The degree of confidence reposed in Mr. Adams was manifested by his being placed at once at the head of the Committee on Manufactures. This is always a responsible station; but it was peculiarly so at that time. The whole Union was highly agitated on the subject of the tariff. The friends of domestic manufactures at the North, insisted upon high protective duties, to sustain the mechanical and manufacturing interests of the country against a ruinous foreign competition. The Southern States resisted these measures as destructive to their interests, and remonstrated with the [illegible] vehemence against them—in which they were joined by a large portion of the Democratic party throughout the North. Mr. Adams, with enlarged [illegible] unity and general prosperity, coun[illegible] to both parties. As Chairman of the [illegible] manufactures, he strove to produce [illegible] between the conflicting interests, as [illegible] a fair protection, and restore [illegible] among the people.

[illegible] Adams' services [illegible]

the House, particularly one of his character. He did so with infinite regret in the present instance; and he certainly would not take such a course, but for the important consequences that might result from assenting to the wishes of the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts. He had reached the conclusion, not without infinite pain and reluctance, that the harmony, *if not the existence of our Confederacy*, depends, at this crisis, upon the arduous, prompt, and patriotic efforts of a few eminent men. He believed that much might be done by the gentleman from Massachusetts."

In the same tone of high compliment, Mr. Barbour, of Virginia, said, "that to refuse anything that could be asked by the gentleman from Massachusetts gave him pain, great pain. He said it was with unaffected sincerity he declared, that the member from Massachusetts (with whom he was associated in the committee) had not only fulfilled all his duties with eminent ability in the committee, but in a spirit and temper that commanded his grateful acknowledgments, and excited his highest admiration. Were it permitted him to make a personal appeal to the gentleman, he would have done so in advance of this motion. He would have appealed to him as a patriot, as a statesman, as a philanthropist, and above all as an American, feeling the full [illegible] all his duties, and touched by all their [illegible] lofty action—to forbear this request."

These complimentary appeals were [illegible] by Mr. Adams, and show most [illegible]

position he occupied in the esteem and confidence of the entire House of Representatives, on becoming a member thereof. But, with the modesty of true greatness, it was painful to him to hear these encomiums uttered in his own presence. He arose, and begged the House, in whatever further action it might take upon the subject, to refrain from pursuing this strain. "I have been most deeply affected," he said, "by what has already passed. I have felt, in the strongest manner, the impropriety of my being in the House while such remarks were made; being very conscious that sentiments of an opposite kind might have been uttered with far more propriety, and have probably been withheld in consequence of my presence."

[illegible] carried with him into Congress all his [illegible] habits of industry and close application to [illegible]. He was emphatically a hard worker. Few [illegible] hours in the twenty-four in assiduous [illegible]. He would take no active part in any matter—[illegible] the discussion of no topic—and would [illegible] on any question—until he had [illegible] sounded its nether depths, and explored all its [illegible] bearings and influences, and had [illegible] the subject. To gain [illegible] great, no application [illegible]

was not perfectly at home. Without hesitation or mistake, he could pour forth a stream of facts, dates, names, places, accompanied with narrations, anecdotes, reflections and arguments, until the matter was thoroughly sifted and laid bare in all its parts and properties, to the understanding of the most casual observer. The tenacity and correctness of his memory was proverbial. Alas, for the man who questioned the correctness of his statements, his facts, or dates. Sure discomfiture awaited him. His mind was a perfect calendar, a store-house, a mine of knowledge, in relation to all past events connected with the history of his country and his age.

In connection with his other exemplary virtues, Mr. Adams was prompt, faithful, unwearied, in the discharge of all his public duties. The oldest member of the House, he was at the same time the most punctual—the first at his post; the last to retire from the labors of the day. His practice in these respects could not put younger members to the blush. While many others might be negligent in their attendance, idling in idleness, engaged in frivolous amusements, or even in dissipation, he was always at his post. The call of the House was necessary—no Sergeant-at-Arms need be despatched—to bring him within the Hall of Representatives. He was the last to adve[illegible] journment, or to adopt any device to [illegible] neglect the public business for personal [illegible] or gratification. In every respect [illegible] legislator. His example can be [illegible]

itated by those who would arise to eminence in the councils of the nation.

"My seat was, for two years, by his side, and it would have scarcely more surprised me to miss one of the marble columns of the Hall from its pedestal than to see his chair empty. * * * I shall, perhaps, be pardoned for introducing here a slight personal recollection, which serves, in some degree, to illustrate his habits. The sessions of the last two days of (I think) the twenty-third Congress, were prolonged, the one for nineteen, and the other for seventeen hours. At the close of the last day's session, he remained in the hall of the House the last seated member of the body. One after another, the members had gone home; many of them for hours. The hall—brilliantly lighted up, and gaily attended, as was, and perhaps is still, the custom at the beginning the last evening of a session—had become cold, dark, and cheerless. Of the members who remained, to prevent the public business from dying for want of a quorum, none but himself were sinking from exhaustion, although they had probably taken their meals at the usual hours, in the course of the day. After the adjournment, I went up to Mr. Adams, seat, to join company with him, homeward; and as I knew he went to the House at eight o'clock in the morning, and it was now near midnight, I expressed a hope that he had taken some [illegible] in the course of the day. He said he had not left his [illegible] *having eat a bit of hard bread in his fingers*, gave me to [illegible] in this way he had sweetened nature."

[illegible] reminiscence will further illustrate [illegible] habits of enduring endurance at a [illegible] the view in regard to the [illegible]

of the House of Representatives, I found Mr. Adams, as early as the hour was, in his seat, busily engaged in writing. He and myself were the only persons present; even the [illegible] Mr. Follansbee, the then doorkeeper, had not made his appearance, with his assistants and pages, to distribute copies of the journal and the usual documents.

"As I made it a rule never to speak to Mr. Adams, unless he spoke first, I said nothing; but took my seat in the reporters' gallery, and went to work. I had written about half an hour, when the venerable statesman appeared at my desk, and was pleased to say that I was a very industrious man. I thanked him for the compliment, and, in return, remarked, that, as industrious as I might be, I could not keep pace with him, 'for,' said I, 'I found you here, sir, when I came in.'

"'I believe I was a little early, sir,' he replied; 'but, as there is to be a closing debate to-day, in the Senate, on the expunging resolution, which I feel inclined to hear, I thought I would come down at an unusual hour, this morning, and dispatch a little writing before the Senate was called to order.'

"'Do you think the expunging resolution will be disposed of to-day?' I inquired.

"'I understand it will,' he rejoined. 'I hope so, [illegible] added, 'for I think the country has already become [illegible] and is impatient for a decision. It has already [illegible] time than should have been devoted to it.'

"'It will pass, I suppose, sir?'

"'Oh, certainly; and by a very decided majority. [illegible] tration is too strong for the opposition; and the affair will [illegible] strict party vote. Of course Mr. Clay's resolution will [illegible], and the journal will not be violated.'

"I was somewhat surprised at the remark, and [illegible] served that I had always understood that it was on the [illegible] ground, that the expunging process could not [illegible] destroying the journal, that the opponents of the [illegible] themselves.

"'It is true, sir, that that has been the grave and [illegible] argument in the Senate; but it is a fallacy, [illegible] constitution, sir, it is true, renders it [illegible] keep a correct journal of its proceedings; [illegible]

and any portion of it may be expunged, without violating that instrument. For instance, sir, a resolution is adopted to-day, is entered on the journal, and to-morrow is expunged—and still the journal remains correct, and the constitution is not violated. For the act by which the expungation is effected is recorded on the journal; the expunged resolution becomes a matter of record, and thus everything stands fair and correct. The constitution is a sacred document, and should not be violated; but how often is it strictly adhered to, to the very letter? There are, sir, some men in the world who make great parade about their devotion to the "*dear constitution*,"—men, sir, who make its sacred character a hobby, and who, nevertheless, are perfectly reckless of its violation, if the ends of party are to be accomplished by its abjuration.'

"There was a degree of sarcasm blended with his enunciation of the 'dear constitution,' which induced me to think it possible that he intended some personal allusion when he repeated the words. In this I might, and might not, have erred.

"'In what way, Mr. Adams,' I inquired, 'is this expunging process to be accomplished? Is the objectionable resolution to be erased from the journal with a pen; or is the leaf that contains it to be [illegible]

[illegible] process is to be resorted to, as I understand it,' he [illegible] the resolution will remain in the book; black lines will be drawn around it, and across it from right angles, and the word "expunged" will be written on the face of it. It will, to all intents and [illegible] on the face of the book. There are precedents [illegible] the guidance of the Senate, and I [illegible] [illegible] very graphic and interesting [illegible] that took place in the British [illegible] England, which I [illegible] He devoted me a long [illegible]

side of the bar, listening, with all imaginable attention, to Mr. Felix Grundy, who was delivering himself of some brief remarks he had to utter on the subject.

"At nine o'clock in the evening, as I strolled my way through the badly-lighted rotunda, having just escaped from a crowd that had been holding 'a secret session,' in the room of the committee on public lands, I descried a light issuing from the vestibule of the Senate chamber, which apprized me that 'the most deliberative body on earth' was still in session. Impelled by a natural curiosity, I proceeded towards the council chamber of the right reverend fathers; and, just as I reached the door, Mr. Adams stepped out. I inquired if the resolution had been disposed of.

"'No, sir,' he replied; 'nor is it probable that it will be to-night! A Senator from North Carolina is yet on the floor; and, as it does not appear likely that he will yield it very soon, and as I am somewhat faint and weary, I think I shall go home.'

"The night was very stormy. Snow was falling fast; the moon, which had

'——— not yet fill'd her horns,'

had receded beneath the western horizon; and, as the capital was but sadly lighted, I offered my services to the venerable sage of Quincy, and at the same time asked leave to conduct him to his dwelling.

"'Sir,' said he, 'I am indebted to you for your proffered kindness; but I need not the service of any one. I am somewhat advanced in life, but not yet, by the blessing of God, infirm; or, as Doctor Johnson would call "superfluous;" and you may remember what old Adam says in the play of "As you like it:"

"For in my youth I never did apply
Hot and rebellious liquors in my blood,
[illegible]

"For the first time in my life, I found Mr. Adams [illegible] to be facetious; and I was glad of it, for it [illegible] assurance that my presence was not absolutely [illegible]

"The salutation being over, and Mr. Adams [illegible] that I should see him down the steps of the capitol [illegible] ward, and soon found myself with my [illegible] midnight of the western gate of the capitol [illegible]

whistled a dismal tale,' as we trudged onward, looking in vain for a cab; and the snow and sleet, which, early in the day, had mantled the earth, was now some twelve inches deep on Pennsylvania avenue. I insisted on going onward; but Mr. Adams objected, and bidding me good night somewhat unceremoniously, told me, almost in as many words, that my farther attendance was unwelcome.

"As I left him, he drew his 'Boston wrapper' still closer around him, hitched up his mittens, and with elastic step breasted a wintry storm that might have repelled even the more elastic movement of juvenility, and wended up the avenue. Although I cannot irreverently say that he

'Whistled as he went, for want of thought,'

I fancy that his mind was so deeply imbued with the contemplation of affairs of state, and especially in contemplating the expunging resolution, that he arrived at his home long before he was aware that he had threaded the distance between the capitol and the President's square."

Although elected to the House of Representatives as a Whig, and usually acting with that party, yet Mr. Adams never acknowledge that fealty to party was always a departure from the conscientious discharge of duty. He went with his party as far as he [illegible] it was right and its proceedings calculated [illegible] the welfare of the country. But no [illegible] could induce him [illegible] to remove prejudicial [illegible]

course. In this he was but true to his principle, character, and whole past history. It was not that he loved his political party or friends less, but that he loved what he viewed as conducive to the welfare of the nation, more.

The same principle of action governed him in reference to his political opponents. In general he threw his influence against the administration of Gen. Jackson, under a sincere conviction that its policy was injurious to the welfare of our common country. But to every measure which he could sanction, he did not hesitate to yield the support of all his energies.

An instance of this description occurred in relation to the treaty of indemnity with France. For nearly forty years, negotiations had been pending in vain with the French Government, to procure an indemnity for spoliations of American commerce, during the French Revolution and Republic. On the 4th of July, 1831, Mr. Rives, the American Minister to France, succeeded in concluding a treaty with that country, [illegible] American merchants an indemnity of [illegible] dollars. But although the treaty was duly [illegible] both Governments, the French Chamber [illegible] obstinately refused, for several years, to [illegible] priation of money to fulfil its stipulations. [illegible] Gen. Jackson determined on strongly [illegible] the French Government to the [illegible] tions. He accordingly sent a [illegible] recommending, in the event of [illegible]

part of France, that *letters of marque and reprisal* be issued against the commerce of France, and at the same time instructed Mr. Edward Livingston, our Minister at that day at the Court of St. Cloud, to demand his passports and retire to London. In all these steps, which resulted in bringing France to a speedy fulfilment of the treaty, Mr. Adams yielded his unreserved support to the administration. He believed Gen. Jackson, in resorting to compulsory measures, was pursuing a course called for alike by the honor and the interest of the country, and he did not hesitate to give him a cordial support, notwithstanding he was a political opponent. In a speech made by Mr. Adams on the subject, in the House of Representatives, he said:

[illegible] with the President of the United States [illegible] the French Chamber of Deputies to carry out [illegible] this treaty, we shall become the scorn, the con- [illegible] the reproach of all mankind! Sir, this [illegible] it down; it has received [illegible] of France, through His hospital- [illegible] of Rome; it has been ratified by the [illegible] of France, but [illegible]

by the pigmy States of Asia and Africa, [illegible] of the earth. Sir, the only negotiations, says the President of the United States, that he would encounter, should be at the cannon's mouth!"

The effect produced by this speech was [illegible] on all sides; and, for a while, the House was lost in the excitement it afforded. The venerable orator took his seat; and, as he sank into it, the very walls shook with the thundering applause he had awakened.

On the 28th of June, 1836, the venerable ex-President JAMES MADISON, departed life at Montpelier, Va., in the eighty-sixth year of his age. He [illegible] a prominent place in the history of our Government, from its first organization. As a statesman, he [illegible] unsurpassed in critical acumen, in profundity of [illegible] edge, in an understanding of constitutional [illegible] and its adaptation to the rights and [illegible] people. His writings are an inv[illegible] countrymen, and will be studied and [illegible] to come. His public acts were a [illegible] upon his political principles—his [illegible] tration of the purest virtues of the [illegible]

When a message from the President [illegible] the death of Mr. Madison, was [illegible] of Representatives, Mr. Adams [illegible]

"By the general voice of the House, [illegible] that the delegation from the commonwealth [illegible] are lost in the melancholy duty of [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible]

latures of the Union, to the memory of the departed patriot and sage, the native of their soil, and the citizen of their community.

"It is not without some hesitation, and some diffidence, that I have risen to offer in my own behalf, and in that of my colleagues upon this floor, and of our common constituents, to join our voice, at once of mourning and exultation, at the event announced to both Houses of Congress, by the message from the President of the United States—of mourning at the bereavement which has befallen our common country, by the decease of one of her most illustrious sons—of exultation at the spectacle afforded to the observation of the civilized world, and for the emulation of after times, by the close of a life of usefulness and of glory, after forty years of service in trusts of the highest dignity and splendor that a confiding country could bestow, succeeded by twenty years of retirement and private life, not inferior, in the estimation of the virtuous and the wise, to [illegible] the highest station that ambition can ever attain.

"Of the public life of James Madison what could I say that is not deeply impressed upon the memory and upon the heart of every [illegible] sound of my voice? Of his private life, what but [illegible] shout of applause from every voice within this hall? Is it not in a pre-eminent degree by emanation from his [illegible] we are assembled here as the representatives of the [illegible] of this Union? Is it not transcendently by [illegible] each other here by the endearing [illegible] and fellow-citizens? Of that band of [illegible] the founders of the Constitution of [illegible] this day had gone to his [illegible]

Congress had been marked by no [illegible] display of characteristics peculiar to himself, other [illegible] as the world had long been familiar with in his previous history. He had succeeded in maintaining his reputation for patriotism, devotion to principle, political sagacity and wisdom, and his fame as a public debater and eloquent speaker. But no new development of qualities unrecognized before had been made. From that year forward, however, he placed himself in a new attitude before the country, and entered upon a career which eclipsed all his former services, and added a lustre to his fame which will glow in unfadded splendor as long as human freedom is prized [illegible] It can hardly be necessary to state that [illegible] have made to his advocacy of the Right of Petition [illegible] determined hostility to slavery. At [illegible] men would leave the stormy field of [illegible] retire to the quiet seclusion of domestic [illegible] great topics inspirited Mr. Adams [illegible] vigor. With all the ardor and [illegible] himself in the front rank of the [illegible] plunged into the very midst of [illegible] dauntless courage, that won the [illegible] held aloft the banner of freedom [illegible] gress, when other hearts quailed [illegible] led "the forlorn hope" to the [illegible] of slavery, when the most [illegible] almost superhuman labors [illegible] been [illegible] a spirit [illegible]

which electrified the nation with admiration. In his intrepid bearing amid these scenes he fully personified the couplet quoted in one of his orations:—

> "Thy spirit, Independence, let me share,
> Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye!
> Thy steps I follow, with my bosom bare,
> Nor heed the storm that howls along the sky."

The first act in the career of Mr. Adams as a Member of Congress, was in relation to slavery. On the 12th of December, 1831, it being the second week of the first session of the twenty-second Congress, he presented fifteen petitions, all numerously signed, from [illegible] inhabitants of Pennsylvania, praying for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. In presenting these petitions, Mr. Adams [illegible] that although the petitioners were not of his [illegible] constituents, yet he did not deem himself at [illegible] in presenting their petitions, the transmission of which to him manifested a confidence in [illegible] he [illegible] to be grateful. From a [illegible] the petitions he inferred [illegible] Society of Friends [illegible] those whom [illegible]

The petitions for the abolition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia, Mr. Adams [illegible] relating to a proper subject for the legislation of Congress. But he did not give his countenance to those which prayed for the abolition of slavery in that District. Not that he would approbate the system of slavery; for he was, and in fact had been through life, its most determined foe. But he believed the time had not then arrived for the discussion of that subject in Congress. It was his settled conviction that a premature agitation of slavery in the national councils would greatly retard, rather than facilitate, the abolition of that giant evil—"as the most salutary medicines," he declared in illustration, "unduly administered, [illegible] most deadly of poisons."

The position taken by Mr. Adams, in presenting these petitions, was evidently misunderstood by [illegible] and especially by Abolitionists. They [illegible] into a disposition on his part to [illegible] succumb unresistingly, to the inhumanity [illegible] of the slave institution. In this conclusion [illegible] nally erred. Mr. Adams, by birth, [illegible] associations of his life, and the [illegible] moral and political character, was an [illegible] in every form. No man felt more [illegible] absurdity of professing to base our [illegible] "self-evident truth, that all men are [illegible] endowed by their Creator with [illegible] life, liberty and the pursuit of [illegible]

claiming our Union the abode of liberty, the "home of the free," the asylum of the oppressed—while holding in our midst millions of fellow-beings manacled in hopeless bondage! No man was more anxious to correct this disgraceful misnomer, and wipe away its dark stain from our national escutcheon at the earliest practicable moment. But he was a statesman of profound knowledge and far-reaching sagacity. He possessed the rare quality of being able to "bide his time" in all enterprizes. Great as he felt the enormity of American slavery to be, he would not, in seeking to remove it, select a time so unseasonable, and adopt measures so unwise, as would result, Samson-like, in removing the pillars of our great political fabric, and crushing the glorious Union, formed by the wisdom and cemented by the blood of our Revolutionary fathers, into a mass of ruins.

[illegible]

a strengthening of the institution. [illegible] ing Congress did he conceive the time to be fully come to engage in that agitation of the [illegible] subject, which, when once commenced in earnest, would never cease until either slavery would be abolished, so far as Congress possessed constitutional power, or the Union become rent in twain! But he evidently saw that time was at hand—even at the door—and he prepared himself for the contest.

In 1835, the people of Texas took up arms in open rebellion against the Government of Mexico. That Province had been settled chiefly by emigrants from the Southern and Southwestern States. Many of them had taken their slaves with them. But the Mexican Government, to their endeared honor, be it said, abolished slavery throughout that Republic. The ostensible object of the Texian insurrection was to resist certain schemes of usurpation alleged against Santa Anna, at that time President of Mexico. At the present day, however, after having witnessed the entire progress and consummation of the [illegible] abundantly evident, that from the beginning [illegible] a deliberate and well-digested plan to [illegible] slavery in Texas—annex that province [illegible] States—and thus immensely increase [illegible] tory and influence in the Union.

At the first blast of the Texian [illegible] volunteers from the slaveholding [illegible]

standard of "the lone star." Agents were sent to the United States to create an interest in behalf of Texas —the most inflammatory appeals were made to the people of the Union—and armed bodies of American citizens were openly formed in the South, and transported without concealment to the seat of the insurrection. President Jackson reminded the inhabitants of the United States of their obligations to observe neutrality in the contest between Mexico and its rebellious province. At the same time, Gen. Gaines, with a body of U. S. troops, was ordered to take up a position within the borders of Texas. The avowed object of this movement was to protect the people of the Southwestern frontiers from the incursions of Indian tribes in the employment of Mexico. But the presence of such a body of troops could not but exert an influence favorable to the measures and objects of Texas; and besides, it afterwards appeared the Indians had no disposition to take sides with Mexico, or to make any [illegible] on the territories of the United States. [illegible] made in Congress for an appropriation of [illegible] dollars to carry on their military operations, [illegible] of which was to encourage [illegible] to throw off the Mexican allegiance [illegible] Indians [illegible]

ing territory and strength to the institution of slavery—are clearly revealed in the following extracts from a letter addressed by Gen. Houston, commander of the Texian forces, to Gen. Dunlap, of Nashville, Tenn.:—

"*Near Sabine, July 2, 1836.*

"To Gen. Dunlap:

Sir:—Your favor of the 1st of June reached me last evening. I regret so much delay will necessarily result before you can reach us. We will need your aid, and that speedily. The enemy, in large numbers, are reported to be in Texas. * * * * * The army with which they first entered Texas is broken up and dispersed by desertion and other causes. If they get another army of the extent proposed, it must be composed of new recruits, and men pressed into service. They will not possess the mechanical efficiency of discipline which gives the Mexican troops the only advantage they have. They will easily be routed by a very inferior force. *For a portion of that force, we shall be obliged to look to the United States!* It cannot reach us too soon. There is but one feeling in Texas, in my opinion, and that is, to establish the independence of Texas, and we hope ATTACHED TO THE UNITED STATES! * * * * * March as speedily as possible, with all the aid you can bring, and I doubt not but you will be gratified with your reception and situation."

The whole plan succeeded beyond the anticipations of its most sanguine projectors. Aided by unauthorized means from the United States, Texas established her independence—organized a government, incorporating slavery into its constitution so thoroughly entrenched against the remotest attempt ever to [illegible] by a process unsurpassed in the annals of [illegible] intrigue, in due time became annexed to the American Union. In this accession of [illegible] from which several large States will [illegible]

carved out, the slave power of the United States obtained a signal advantage, of which it will not be backward to avail itself in the time of its need. A faithful history of this entire movement is yet to be written.

Mr. Adams, with his well-known and long-tried sagacity, saw at a glance the whole design of the originators of the Texas insurrection. While most people were averse to the belief that a project was seriously on foot to sever a large and free province from the Mexican Republic and annex it to the Union as slave territory, he read the design in legible characters from the beginning. In a speech made in the House of Representatives, in May, 1836, in reference to the call for a million of dollars, for purposes already stated, Mr. Adams unriddled the Texian project with the vision of a prophet.

"Shall we not deem American citizens," said Mr. Adams, "going from [illegible] of this country to carry on the war of this province against the united Government of Mexico? Who were those who [illegible] are now fighting under the standard of the [illegible] Shall we not hear the last [illegible] in this [illegible] Shall we not hear in [illegible] that Gen. [illegible] Texas independent? Is it [illegible] that Gen. [illegible] in Alamo of San Antonio?"

[illegible] we will not go with a [illegible] and [illegible] that the word "[illegible]" [illegible]

to re-establish that slavery which had been abolished by the United Mexican States? If that was the case, and the people of Texas, in into an acknowledgment of their independence, [illegible] by that preliminary act, by that acknowledgment, if we were [illegible] their application to admit Texas to become a part of the United States, then the House ought to be informed of it. I shall be for no such war, nor for making any such addition to our territory. * * * * * I hope Congress will take care to go into no war for the re-establishment of slavery where it has been abolished—that they will go into no war in behalf of 'our Texians,' or 'our Texian neighbors'—and that they will go into no war with a foreign power without other cause than the acquisition of territory."

In a speech delivered a few days subsequent to the above, Mr. Adams used the following language:

"It is said that one of the earliest acts of this administration was a proposal, made at a time when there was already [illegible] in Mexico against the United States, that she should cede to the United States a very large portion of her territory—large enough to constitute nine States equal in extent to Kentucky. It must be confessed that a device better calculated to produce [illegible] picion, ill-will and hatred, could not have been [illegible] further affirmed that this overture, offensive in itself, was made precisely at the time when a swarm of [illegible] from these United States, were covering the Mexican border with [illegible] with slaves, introduced in defiance of [illegible] slavery had been abolished throughout the [illegible] now raging in Texas is a Mexican civil war, [illegible] establishment of slavery where it was abolished. [illegible] war, but a war between slavery and [illegible] ble effort has been made to drive us into the war [illegible] slavery."

"When, in the year 1836, resolutions to [illegible] ence of Texas came up in the House of [illegible] Adams opposed them with great energy and [illegible] voked a most ardent and violent debate. Mr. [illegible] then a Representative in Congress, and [illegible] Mexico, advocated the passage of the [illegible]

said that Mr. Adams, in negotiating the Florida treaty, actually ceded to Mexico the whole of Texas, a province that was part and parcel of this Union.

"Mr. Adams immediately arrested the speech of Mr. Thompson, and denied the impeachment. Mr. Thompson rejoined, and, to strengthen his position, quoted some remarks Gen. Jackson had made on the subject, confirmatory of the charge of having sacrificed the national domain, in the Florida negotiation.

"Mr. Adams replied with great warmth; and went into a minute and interesting narrative of the whole transaction. Among other things, he said that, before the Florida treaty was signed, he took it to Gen. Jackson, to obtain his opinion of it; and that it was unconditionally approved by him.

"Mr. Thompson was surprised at the announcement of this fact. It weakened his position very materially; and he resumed his seat a defeated antagonist. So said the House of Representatives, with scarcely the exception of a member.

"Mr. Adams continued his defence. 'At that time,' said he, 'General Jackson was in this city, on exciting business connected with the Seminole war; and, after the treaty had been concluded, and only wanted the signatures of the contracting parties, the then President of the United States directed me to call on General Jackson, in my official capacity as Secretary of State, and obtain his opinion in reference to boundaries. I did call. General Jackson, [illegible] was at that time holding his quarters in the hotel at the other end of the avenue, now kept by Mr. Azariah Fuller, but then under the management of Jonathan McCarty. The day was exceedingly [illegible] on entering General Jackson's parlor, I found him much [illegible] and the intensity of the weather. I made [illegible] of my visit; when he replied that I would [illegible] [illegible] from looking into the [illegible]

"This debate, whilst yet warm from [illegible] reached General Jackson; and was at once [illegible] attention. Its contradiction and refutation were deemed [illegible] of paramount importance. The old soldier did not hesitate, [illegible] in the matter, and speedily there appeared in the [illegible] newspaper a letter, signed Andrew Jackson, denying, in unqualified and unconditional terms, everything that Mr. Adams had uttered. He denied having been in Washington at the time Mr. Adams designated; but afterwards, being convinced that he was in error, in this fact only he corrected himself, but denied most positively that he had seen the Florida treaty, or Mr. Adams, at the time of its negotiation, or that he had had the remotest agency or connection with the transaction.

"Mr. Adams responded, and appealed to his diary, where everything was set forth with the utmost precision and accuracy. The year, day of the month, and of the week, and the very hour of the day, all were faithfully recorded.

"The affair produced much sensation at Washington; and even the most determined advocates of General Jackson believed that he, and not Mr. Adams, was in error. No one would, or could for a moment, believe that Mr. Adams 'had made a false report.'

"Whilst this controversy was pending, I called at the Presidential mansion, one afternoon, when General Jackson, strange to say, happened to be alone. He said that he was very glad to see me, because he would like to hear, from one who had an opportunity of seeing more of the press than he *saw*, what was the exact state of public opinion, in regard to the controversy.

"'As far as I am capable of judging, Mr. President,' [illegible] 'the people appear to be unanimous in the opinion that [illegible] misunderstanding, a misapprehension, between you and Mr. Adams; for no one imagines, for a moment, that either of you [illegible] represent facts! Mr. Adams is a man of [illegible] generally accurate, and, in this instance, it appears [illegible] tained by his diary.'

"'His diary! don't tell me anything more [illegible] Sir, that diary comes up on all occasions—[illegible] pages were as immutable as the laws of the [illegible] Sir, that diary will be the death of me! [illegible] kept a *diary!* If he did, it is to be hoped [illegible]

to see if it contains anything about this Adams and Don Onis treaty. Sir, I did not see it; I was *not* consulted about it.'

"The old hero was exceedingly vehement, and was proceeding to descant with especial violence, when he was interrupted by the entrance of Mr. Secretary Woodbury, and I never heard another word about the matter. A question of veracity between the parties was raised, and was never adjudicated. Both went down to the grave before any definite light was cast on the subject; but the world had decided that General Jackson was in error.*

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* Reminiscences of the late John Quincy Adams, by an Old Colony Man.

CHAPTER XIII.

MR. ADAMS PRESENTS PETITIONS FOR THE ABOLISHMENT OF SLAVERY—OPPOSITION OF SOUTHERN MEMBERS—EXCITING SCENES IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—MARKS OF CONFIDENCE IN MR. ADAMS.

In the meantime, during the years 1836 and 1837, the public mind in the Northern States, became fully aroused to the enormities of American slavery—its encroachments on the rights and interests of the free States—the undue influence it was exercising in our national councils—and the evident determination to enlarge its borders and its evils, by the addition of new and large territories. Petitions for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia and the Territories, began to pour into Congress from every section of the East and North. These were generally presented by Mr. Adams. His age and experience—his well-known influence in the House of Representatives—his patriotism, and his integrity [illegible] of human freedom—inspired the confidence of the people of the free States, and led them to [illegible] him their petitions. With scrupulous [illegible] formed the duty thus imposed upon [illegible]

their prayer—whether for such objects as he could sanction or not—if they were clothed in respectful language, Mr. Adams felt himself under an imperative obligation to present them to Congress. For several sessions at this period, few days passed without his presenting more or less petitions having some relation to the subject of slavery.

The southern members of Congress became alarmed at these demonstrations, and determined to arrest them, even at the sacrifice, if need be, of the right of petition —the most sacred privilege of freemen. On the 8th of Feb., 1836, a committee was raised by the House of Representatives, to take into consideration what disposition should be made of petitions and memorials for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, in the District of Columbia, and report thereon. This committee consisted of Messrs. Pinckney of South Carolina, Hamer of Ohio, Pierce of New Hampshire, Hardin [illegible] Jarvis of Maine, Owens of Georgia, [illegible] of Pennsylvania, Dunlap of Virginia, [illegible] of New York. On the 18th of May, the [illegible] Pinckney, including the adoption [illegible]

agitation of this subject should be finally [illegible] of restoring tranquillity to the public mind, [illegible] fully recommend the adoption of the following [illegible] tion, viz. :—

"Resolved, That all petitions, memorials, resolutions, [illegible] or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, shall, without being either printed or referred, be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever shall be had thereon."

When the first of these resolutions was taken up, Mr. Adams said, if the House would allow [illegible] minutes' time, he would prove the resolution to be untrue. His request was denied.

On the third resolution Mr. Adams [illegible] and sent to the Speaker's chair the following [illegible] tion, demanding that it should be placed on the [illegible] of the House, there to stand to the latest [illegible]

"I hold the resolution to be a direct violation of the [illegible] tion of the United States, of the rules of this House, [illegible] rights of my constituents."

Notwithstanding the rule embodied in the [illegible] virtually trampled the right of petition [illegible] yet it was adopted by the House, by a [illegible] But Mr. Adams was not to be deterred [illegible] restriction, from a faithful discharge [illegible] representative of the people. Petitions [illegible] of slavery continued to be transmitted [illegible] creased numbers. With unwavering [illegible] a bitter and unscrupulous opposition [illegible] the highest pitch by his [illegible] tempest of [illegible]

presenting these petitions, one by one, to the amount sometimes of two hundred in a day—demanding the action of the House on each separate petition.

His position amid these scenes was in the highest degree illustrious and sublime. An old man, with the weight of years upon him, forgetful of the elevated stations he had occupied, and the distinguished honors received for past services, turning away from the repose which age so greatly needs, and laboring, amidst scorn and derision, and threats of expulsion and assassination, to maintain the sacred right of petition for the poorest and humblest in the land—insisting that the voice of a free people should be heard by their representatives, when they would speak in condemnation of human slavery and call upon them to maintain the principles of liberty embodied in the immortal Declaration of Independence—was a spectacle unwitnessed before in the history of legislation. A few specimens of these transactions will enable the reader to judge [illegible] Mr. Adams was compelled to endure in [illegible] of his moral courage [illegible] and the most appalling [illegible]

Mr. Adams said, that if he had [illegible] of the Speaker in this case, it was not the petition [illegible] laid upon the table, but the motion to receive [illegible] the time of the House, he wished to give notice that he should call up that motion, for decision, every day, so long as he should be permitted to do so by the House; because he should not consider his duty accomplished so long as the petition was [illegible] so long as the House had not decided that it would [illegible]

Mr. Pinckney rose to a question of order, and inquired if there was now any question pending before the House?

The Speaker said, he had understood the gentleman from Massachusetts as merely giving notice of a motion [illegible] made. In doing so, it certainly was not in order to enter into debate.

Mr. Adams said, that so long as freedom of speech [illegible] to him as a member of that House, he would [illegible] until it should be decided.

Mr. Adams was called to order.

Mr. A. said, he would then have the honor of [illegible] House the petition of two hundred and twenty [illegible] wives and daughters of his immediate constituents [illegible] of the speech which he intended to make, he would [illegible] of reading the petition. It was not long, and would [illegible] much time.

Mr. Glascock objected to the reception of the petition.

Mr. Adams proceeded to read, that the petitioners [illegible] South Weymouth, in the State of Massachusetts [illegible] the sinfulness of slavery, and keenly [illegible] a part of our country over which Congress [illegible]

Mr. Pinckney rose to a question of order. [illegible] from Massachusetts a right, under the rule, to [illegible]

The Speaker said, the gentleman from [illegible] right to make a statement of the contents of [illegible]

Mr. Pinckney desired the decision of [illegible] a gentleman had a right to read a petition.

Mr. Adams said he was reading the petition [illegible] speech, and he took this to be one of the [illegible] the House. It was a privilege [illegible] deprived of it by [illegible]

The Speaker repeated that the gentleman from Massachusetts had a right to make a brief statement of the contents of the petition. It was not for the Speaker to decide whether that brief statement should be made in the gentleman's own language, or whether he should look over the petition, and take his statement from that.

Mr. Adams.—At the time my friend from South Carolina——

The Speaker said the gentleman must proceed to state the contents of the petition.

Mr. Adams.—I am doing so, sir.

The Speaker.—Not in the opinion of the chair.

Mr. Adams.—I was at this point of the petition—"Keenly aggrieved by its existence in a part of our country over which Congress possesses exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever ——"

Loud cries of "Order," "Order!"

Mr. Adams.—"Do most earnestly petition your honorable body ——"

Mr. Chambers of Kentucky rose to a point of order.

Mr. Adams.—"Immediately to abolish slavery in the District of [illegible]

[illegible] reiterated his call to order, and the Speaker [illegible] Adams to take his seat.

[illegible] proceeded with great rapidity of enunciation, and in a [illegible] tone—"*And to declare every human being free* [illegible] *who shall be sold*."

[illegible] in the hall at this time was very great. The [illegible] that it was not in order for a member to read a [illegible]

These words were read amidst [illegible] from every part of the House. [illegible] and laid upon the table.

Other scenes of a still more [illegible] occurred.

On the 7th of February, 1837, after [illegible] two hundred or more abolition petitions, [illegible] without yielding the floor, employed [illegible] get. He was about resuming his seat, [illegible] and hastily glancing at it, exclaimed, in a [illegible]

"Mr. Speaker, I have in my possession a [illegible] extraordinary character; and I wish to inquire of [illegible] in order to present it."

"If the gentleman from Massachusetts," [illegible] inform the chair what the character of the petition [illegible] ably be able to decide on the subject."

"Sir," ejaculated Mr. Adams, "the petition [illegible] slaves of the town of Fredericksburgh, in the [illegible] in the state of Virginia. It is one of [illegible] occurred to my mind, are not what they purport [illegible] partly by persons who cannot write, by [illegible] partly by persons whose handwriting would [illegible] received the education of slaves. The petition [illegible] from slaves, and I am requested to present [illegible] chair."

The Speaker (Mr. Polk,) who habitually [illegible] every courtesy and kindness imaginable, [illegible] found himself involved in a dilemma. [illegible] *hitches* which ever denoted his [illegible] from slaves was a novelty, and involved [illegible] feel called upon to decide. He would [illegible] it; and, in the meantime, would [illegible]

The House was very thin at the time, [illegible] to what was going on, till the excitement [illegible] the attention of Mr. Dixon H. Lewis, of [illegible] and under great excitement, rose and [illegible]

Mr. Speaker afforded the [illegible] getting all disorder, [illegible]

Mr. Adams, said ejaculated at the top of his voice, "By G–d, sir, this is not to be endured any longer!"

"Treason! treason!" screamed a half dozen other members. "Expel the old scoundrel; put him out; do not let him disgrace the House any longer!"

"Get up a resolution to meet the case," exclaimed a member from North Carolina.

Mr. George C. Dromgoole, who had acquired a very favorable reputation as a parliamentarian, was selected as the very man who, of all others, was most capable of drawing up a resolution that would meet and cover the emergency. He produced a resolution with a preamble, in which it was stated, substantially, that, whereas the Hon. John Quincy Adams, a representative from Massachusetts, had presented to the House of Representatives a petition signed by negro slaves, thus "giving *color to an idea*" that bondmen were capable of exercising the right of petition, it was "Resolved, That he be taken up at the bar of the House, and be censured by the Speaker thereof."

[illegible] said the true motion, in his judgment, would be to [illegible] the petition be rejected.

[illegible] stated that no motion of that kind would come from [illegible] slaveholding section of the country.

[illegible] he would cheerfully withdraw his motion.

[illegible] until the motion was withdrawn. He believed [illegible] publish adequately such an information of its de-[illegible] be the laundry from the slave-[illegible] of the House the [illegible] business [illegible] all [illegible]

man who was a friend to the [illegible]
There must be an end to this [illegible]
or the Union could not exist much longer. [illegible]
should disgrace the Government under [illegible]
ing a petition from *slaves*, praying for [illegible]
petition would, by order of the House, be [illegible]

Mr. Waddy Thompson moved the following [illegible]

"Resolved, That the Hon. John Quincy [illegible]
just made by him to introduce a petition [illegible]
be from slaves, has been guilty of a gross [illegible]
and that he be instantly brought to the bar [illegible]
censure of the Speaker."

The idea of bringing the venerable [illegible]
a culprit, to receive a reprimand from a [illegible]
Speaker, would be a spectacle so disgraceful [illegible]
that the proposition met with no favor. An [illegible]
mand was devised. Mr. Haynes introduced the [illegible]
tion:—

"Resolved, That John Quincy Adams, a [illegible]
State of Massachusetts, has rendered himself [illegible]
severest censure of this House, and is [illegible]
having attempted to present to the House [illegible]

Several other resolutions and propositions [illegible]
slaveholding States, were submitted to the [illegible]
satisfactory even to themselves. Mr. Adams [illegible]
pest which raged around him, defended himself [illegible]
his purpose, with the distinguished ability [illegible]
characterized all his public labors.

"In regard to the resolutions now [illegible]
"as they all concur in naming me, and [illegible]
crimes and misdemeanors, and in calling [illegible]
to answer for my crimes, I have thought [illegible]
silent, until it should be the pleasure [illegible]
one or the other of these resolutions. [illegible]
brought to the bar of the House, [illegible]
previous question, before I have [illegible]
two in my own defense. [illegible]

"Now, as to the first, what [illegible]
the gentleman from Kentucky [illegible]

the table a resolution assuming that this petition was for the abolition of slavery—I state to him that he is mistaken. He must amend his resolution; for if the House should choose to read this petition, I can state to them they would find it something very much the reverse of that which the resolution states it to be. And if the gentleman from Alabama still chooses to bring me to the bar of the House, he must amend his resolution in a very important particular; for he may probably have to put into it, that my crime has been for attempting to introduce the petition of slaves that slavery should *not* be abolished. * * * * * *

"Sir, it is well known, that from the time I entered this House, down to the present day, I have felt it a sacred duty to present any petition, couched in respectful language, from any citizen of the United States, be its object what it may; be the prayer of it that in which I could concur, or that to which I was utterly opposed. It is for the sacred right of petition that I have adopted this course. * * * * * * * * Where is your law which says that the mean, and the low, and the degraded, shall be deprived of the right of petition, if their moral character is not good? Where, in the land of freemen, was the right of petition ever placed on the exclusive basis of morality and virtue? Petition is *supplication*—it is *entreaty*—it is [illegible] And where is the degree of vice or immorality which [illegible] the citizen of the right to *supplicate* for a boon, or to [illegible] Where is such a law to be found? It does not [illegible] absolute despotism! There is no absolute monarch [illegible] compelled, by the constitution of his country, to [illegible] of his people, whosoever they may be. The [illegible] cannot [illegible] the [illegible] and refuse to re- [illegible] This is the [illegible] Does it [illegible] and [illegible] the

so great a crime to attempt to offer a [illegible] for aught I know, say that freemen, if not of [illegible] deprived of the right of petition, in the [illegible]

When southern members saw that, [illegible] not tarried to ascertain the nature of the [illegible] for the *perpetuation*, instead of the [illegible] became so ludicrous, that their exasperation [illegible] At the time the petition was announced [illegible] was very thin; but the excitement [illegible] besides, the *sergeant-at-arms* had been [illegible] in all absentees. The excitement [illegible] and continued until seven o'clock in the [illegible] adjourned. Mr. Adams stood at his desk, [illegible] seated till the matter was disposed of, [illegible] he was not entitled to a seat among [illegible] When Mr. Droomgoole's resolution was [illegible] consideration, Mr. Adams yielded to it one of [illegible] which he was in the habit of giving, when [illegible] said—" Mr. Speaker, if I understand the [illegible] gentleman from Virginia, it charges me [illegible] *color* to *an idea!*" The whole House [illegible] irrepressible peal of laughter. The [illegible] actually laughed out of existence. [illegible] had got itself in a dilemma,—that Mr. [illegible] and, at last, adjourned, leaving the [illegible] they found it.

For several days this subject [illegible] Mr. Adams not only warded off the [illegible] but carried the war so effectually into [illegible] becoming heartily tired of the [illegible] to get rid of the whole subject by [illegible] Mr. Adams objected. He insisted [illegible] vassed. Immense excitement [illegible] was made. Mr. Henry A. Wise, [illegible] on the Reuben Whitney affair, [illegible] message that the stability of the [illegible]

Breathless, and impatient, [illegible] inquired what was the [illegible]

"And is that all?" [illegible]

Massachusetts has presented a petition signed by slaves! Well, sir, and what of that? Is anybody harmed by it? Sir, in my opinion, slaves are the very persons who should petition. Mine, sir, pray to me, and I listen to them; and shall not the feeble supplicate? Sir, I see no danger,—the country, I believe, is safe."

At length the exciting subject was brought to a termination, by the passage of the following preamble and resolutions; much softened, it will be seen, in comparison with the measures first proposed:—

"An inquiry having been made by an honorable gentleman from Massachusetts, whether a paper which he held in his hand, purporting to be a petition from certain slaves, and declaring themselves to be slaves, came within the order of the House of the 18th of January,* and the said paper not having been received by the Speaker, he stated that in a case so extraordinary and novel, he would take the advice and counsel of the House.

"Resolved, That this House cannot receive said petition without disregarding its own dignity, the rights of a large class of citizens of the South and West, and the Constitution of the United States.

"Resolved, That slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the citizens of the United States by the constitution."

[illegible] petition is believed to have been a counterfeit, manufactured by certain members from slaveholding States, and was sent [illegible] by the way of experiment—with the double design [illegible] if he could be imposed upon; and, if the deception [illegible] to know if the ven- [illegible] petition, [illegible] the [illegible]

on Foreign Affairs, with instructions [illegible]. This motion was opposed with great [illegible] from slaveholding States. Mr. Adams [illegible] during the delivery of the brief speech he made [illegible]

Mr. Bynum insisted that the gentleman [illegible] should take his seat, under the rule. [illegible] permitted to proceed, Mr. B. hoped some gentleman of the slaveholding portion of the House would be allowed to [illegible]

Mr. Adams.—Sir, I hope so. Only open our mouths, gentlemen; that is all we ask, and you may answer as much as you please.

Mr. Bynum.—I object to the gentleman proceeding further with his observations, except by consent of the House; [illegible] rules we had better either obey them or have them [illegible]

The House voted, by 114 to 47, to allow Mr. Adams to proceed.

In continuing his speech, Mr. Adams said, that even admitting the object of the petitioners is abolition, [illegible] had the right to petition for that too; [illegible] the country had a right to be an abolitionist; [illegible] the Revolution were abolitionists, and if any man [illegible]

Mr. Wise.—I deny it.

The Speaker said this was out of order. [illegible]

Mr. Adams.—I feel obliged to the gentleman [illegible] giving me the invitation, and I will [illegible]

The Speaker said this did not [illegible] before the House.

Mr. Adams.—George Washington, [illegible] will and testament, before God, his [illegible]

Mr. Wise.—Because he had no children [illegible]

The Speaker again interposed, and said [illegible] go into that question. It was entirely [illegible]

Mr. Adams.—I did but accept the invitation [illegible] from Virginia. I do not withdraw [illegible] position that George Washington was [illegible] extensive sense of the term; and [illegible] the discussion, and to prove to the contrary [illegible]

The Speaker called Mr. Adams to order.

Mr. Adams.—Well, sir, I [illegible] is to be found for the principles of [illegible] from Virginia deny that [illegible]

Mr. Wise.—I do.

The Speaker again interposed.

Mr. Adams.—Well, sir, then I come back to my position, that every man in this country has a right to be an abolitionist, and that in being so he offends no law, but, in my opinion, obeys the most sacred of all laws.

The motion to instruct the committee, was finally laid upon the table.

Mr. Adams was evidently anxious to engage in a legitimate discussion, in the House of Representatives, of the subject of slavery in all its bearings, influences, and results. Such a discussion, coolly and deliberately entered upon, by men of the most distinguished abilities in the nation, could not but have been pregnant with lasting good, not only to the North, but also to the South and the entire country. To afford opportunity for a dignified and profitable investigation of this momentous topic, Mr. Adams, on the 25th of Feb., 1839, proposed the following amendments to the Constitution of the United States:—

[illegible] *Senate and House of Representatives in Con-*[illegible] concurring therein, That [illegible] of the United States [illegible] shall become and [illegible]

"3. From and after the 4th day of July, [illegible] shall be neither slavery nor slave trade, at the seat of Government of the United States."

Instead of meeting and canvassing, in a manly and honorable manner, the vitally important question involved in these propositions, the slaveholding Representatives objected to its coming before the House for consideration, in any form whatever. In this instance, as in most others, where the merits of slavery are involved, the supporters of that institution manifested a timidity, a want of confidence in its legitimacy, of the most suspicious nature. If slavery is lawful and defensible—if it violates no true principle among men, no human right bestowed by the Creator—if it can be tolerated and perpetuated in harmony with republican institutions and our Declaration of Independence—if its existence in the bosom of the Confederacy involves no incongruity, and is calculated to [illegible] the prosperity and stability of the Union, or [illegible] fare of the slaveholding States [illegible] facts which can be made evident to [illegible] unsurpassed abilities of southern [illegible] then, object to a candid and [illegible] the subject? But if slavery is the [illegible] if it is a moral poison, contaminating [illegible] everything connected with it, [illegible] of its own dissolution, accept [illegible] wise, sagacious politicians, [illegible] and conscientious Christians, [illegible]

away from a fact so appalling and so dangerous. No man of intelligence can hope, in this age of the world, to perpetuate that which is wrong and destructive, by bravado and threatening—by refusing to look it in the face, or to allow others to scrutinize it. Error must pass away. Truth, however unpalatable, or however it may be obscured for a season, must eventually triumph. The very exertions of its supporters to perpetuate wrong, will but hasten its death.

> "Truth, crushed to earth, will rise again;
> Th' eternal years of God are hers:
> But Error, wounded, writhes with pain,
> And dies among her worshippers."

Notwithstanding the course Mr. Adams felt himself compelled to pursue led him frequently into collision with a large portion of the Members of the House of Representatives, and caused them sometimes, in the heat of excitement, to forget the deference due his age, his experience, and commanding abilities, yet there [illegible] a deep under-current feeling of veneration [illegible] pervading all hearts. Those who were ex- [illegible] highest pitch of frenzy by his proceedings, [illegible] the goodness of his purpose, and [illegible] his motives. On [illegible]

newspapers and pamphlets [illegible] cians in different parts of the Hall [illegible] Representatives came hastily in from [illegible] mittee-rooms, the surrounding grounds [illegible] clustered around his chair to listen [illegible] dom, patriotism, and truth, as they dropped [illegible] from the lips of "the old man eloquent." The confidence placed in him in emergencies, was unbounded. A case in point is afforded in the history of the difficulty occasioned by the double delegation from New Jersey.

On the opening of the 26th Congress, in December, 1840, in consequence of a two-fold delegation from New Jersey, the House was unable, for some time, to complete its organization, and presented to the country and the world the [illegible] aspect of the assembled Representatives of the people [illegible] themselves into a constitutional body. Our [illegible] House has no officers, and the Clerk of the preceding [illegible] by usage, as chairman of the body, till a Speaker [illegible] this occasion, after reaching the State of New Jersey, [illegible] Clerk declined to proceed in calling the roll, [illegible] tain any of the motions which were made for the [illegible] cating the House from its embarrassment. [illegible] most judicious members had addressed the House [illegible] was nothing but confusion and disorder [illegible]

The fourth day opened, and still confusion [illegible] But the hour of disenthralment was at [illegible] presented which sent the mind back to [illegible] uttered the exclamation—"Sir Harry Vane! [illegible] Vane!"—and in an instant dispersed the [illegible]

Mr. Adams, from the opening of the [illegible] anarchy, had maintained a profound [illegible] engaged most of the time in writing. [illegible] seemed to be reckless of everything [illegible] the slightest incident, escaped him. [illegible]

had now commenced; Mr. Hugh H. Garland, the Clerk, was directed to call the roll again.

He commenced with Maine, as was usual in those days, and was proceeding toward Massachusetts. I turned, and saw that Mr. Adams was ready to get the floor at the earliest moment possible. His keen eye was riveted on the Clerk; his hands clasped the front edge of his desk, where he always placed them to assist him in rising. He looked, in the language of Otway, like the

"——— fowler, eager for his prey."

"New Jersey!" ejaculated Mr. Hugh H. Garland, "and the Clerk has to repeat that ———"

Mr. Adams sprang to the floor!

"I rise to interrupt the Clerk," was his first ejaculation.

"Silence, silence," resounded through the hall; "hear him, hear him! Here what he has to say; hear John Quincy Adams!" was the unanimous ejaculation on all sides.

In an instant, the most profound silence reigned throughout the Hall—you might have heard a leaf of paper fall in any part of it—and every eye was riveted on the venerable Nestor of Massachusetts—the parent of statesmen, and the noblest of men! He paused for a moment; and, having given Mr. Garland a

"——— withering look,"

he proceeded to address the multitude:

"I did not, my intention," said he, "to take any part in these extraordinary proceedings. I had hoped that this House would succeed in organizing itself; that a Speaker and Clerk would be [illegible] that the ordinary business of legislation would be proceeded [illegible] time, we plead, to discuss the merits of [illegible] for seats from New Jersey; that subject [illegible] which, by the constitution, [illegible] of the qualifications of its members. [illegible] the [illegible]

American people, at defiance, and holds [illegible] that is this Clerk of yours? Is he to control [illegible] millions of freemen? Is he to suspend [illegible] the functions of Government, and put an end [illegible] refuses to call the roll! It is in your power to compel him to call it, if he will not do it voluntarily. [Here he was interrupted by a member, who said that he was authorized to say [illegible] could not reach the Clerk, who had avowed [illegible] rather than call the State of New Jersey.] Well, sir, then let him resign," continued Mr. Adams, "and we may possibly discover some way by which we can get along, without the aid of his all-powerful talent, learning and genius. If we cannot organize in [illegible] way—if this Clerk of yours will not consent to [illegible] trusts confided to us by our constituents, then let us [illegible] example of the Virginia House of Burgesses, which, when the [illegible] Governor Dinwiddie ordered it to disperse, refused to [illegible] imperious and insulting mandate, and, like [illegible]

The multitude could not contain or repress [illegible] longer, but saluted the eloquent and indignant [illegible] ed him with loud and deafening cheers, which [illegible] capitol to its centre. The very Genii of applause [illegible] seemed to float in the atmosphere of the Hall, [illegible] panded with an indescribable feeling of pride [illegible] turmoil, the darkness, the very "chaos of anarchy," [illegible] three successive days, pervaded the American [illegible] pelled by the magic, the talismanic eloquence [illegible] once more the wheels of Government [illegible] in motion.*

Having, by this powerful appeal, [illegible] sembly to a perception of its hazardous [illegible] tion requiring the acting Clerk to proceed [illegible] and similar motions had already been made [illegible] difficulty was, that the acting Clerk [illegible] cordingly, Mr. Adams was immediately [illegible] voices demanding, "How shall the [illegible] put the question?" The voice of Mr. [illegible] tumult, "I intend to put the question [illegible] order out of chaos. There was the [illegible]

* [illegible]

As soon as the multitude had recovered itself, and the excitement of irrepressible enthusiasm had abated, Mr. Richard Barnwell Rhett, of South Carolina, leaped upon one of the desks, waved his hand, and exclaimed:

"I move that the Honorable John Quincy Adams take the chair of the Speaker of this House, and officiate as presiding officer, till the House be organized by the election of its constitutional officers! As many as are agreed to this will say *ay*; those ———"

He had not an opportunity to complete the sentence—"those who are not agreed, will say *no*,"—for one universal, deafening, thundering *ay*, responded to the nomination.

Hereupon, it was moved and ordered that Lewis Williams, of North Carolina, and Richard Barnwell Rhett, conduct John Quincy Adams to the chair.

Well did Mr. Wise, of Virginia, say, "Sir, I regard it as the proudest hour of your life; and if, when you shall be gathered to your fathers, I were asked to select the words which, in my judgment, are best calculated to give at once the character of the man, I would inscribe upon your tomb this sentence, 'I will put the question myself.'"*

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* In a public address, Mr. Adams once quoted the well known words of Tacitus, Annal. vi. 39—"*Par negotiis neque supra*"—applying them to a distinguished man, lately deceased. A lady wrote to inquire whence they came. Mr. Adams informed her, and added, that they could not be adequately translated in less than seven words in English. The lady replied that they might be well translated in five—*Equal to, and above business*—which he adopted in lieu—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.—*Notes.*

CHAPTER XIV.

MR. ADAMS' FIRMNESS IN DISCHARGE OF [illegible] EXERTIONS IN BEHALF OF THE AMISTAD SLAVES—[illegible] CONNEXION WITH THE SMITHSONIAN BEQUEST—TOUR [illegible] CANADA AND NEW YORK — HIS RECEPTION AT [illegible] VISITS NIAGARA FALLS—ATTENDS WORSHIP WITH [illegible] A INDIANS—HIS RECEPTION AT [illegible] AT ALBANY—AT PITTSFIELD—VISITS CINCINNATI—[illegible] IN LAYING THE CORNER STONE OF AN OBSERVATORY.

It would be impossible, in the limit prescribed to these pages, to detail the numerous [illegible] occurrences of a momentous nature, in which [illegible] took a prominent part during his [illegible] of Representatives. The path [illegible] himself at the commencement of his [illegible], was pursued with unfaltering [illegible] life. His was the rare honor of [illegible] reservedly, to his legitimate duties [illegible] of the people while in Congress, [illegible] He believed the halls of the Capitol [illegible] political intrigue; and that a [illegible] stead of studying to shape his [illegible] capital or to subserve party [illegible] self rigidly and solely to the [illegible]

ents. His practice corresponded with his theory. His speeches, his votes, his entire labors in Congress, were confined strictly to practical subjects, vitally connected with the great interests of our common country, and had no political or party bearing, other than such as truth and public good might possess.

His hostility to slavery and the assumptions and usurpations of slave power in the councils of the nation, continued to the day of his death. At the commencement of each session of Congress, he demanded that the infamous "gag rule," which forbid the presentation of petitions on the subject of slavery, should be abolished. But despite its continuance, he persisted in handing in petitions from the people of every class, complexion and condition. He did not hesitate to lay before the House of Representatives a petition from Haverhill, Mass., for *the dissolution of the Union!* Although opposed in his whole soul to the prayer of the petitioners, yet he believed himself sacredly bound [illegible] with due respect to every request of the people [illegible] in respectful terms. [illegible] the supporters of slavery endeavor to [illegible] his arguments, and to seal his lips in silence. In [illegible] expulsion from [illegible] before the grand jury of the [illegible] that they doubted that he [illegible] ob-

"if he presents that petition from slaves, we shall yet see him within the walls of the penitentiary." All these attempts at brow-beating moved him not a title. Firm he stood to his duty, despite the storms of angry passion which howled around him, and with withering rebukes repelled the assaults of hot-headed opponents, as the proud old headland, jutting far into ocean's bosom, tosses high, in worthless spray, the dark mountain billows which in wrath beat upon it.

"Do the gentlemen from the South," said he, "think they can frighten me by their threats? If that be their object, let me tell them, sir, *they have mistaken their man.* I am not to be frightened from the discharge of a sacred duty, by their indignation, by their violence, nor, sir, by all the grand juries in the universe. I have done only my duty; and I shall do it again under the same circumstances, even though they recur to-morrow."

"Though aged, he was as firm of mind,
None of the youth could cope with him;
And the foes whom he singly kept at bay,
Outnumbered his thin halm of silver hair."

Nor was Mr. Adams without [illegible] trying position. His immediate [illegible] primary meetings, repeatedly sent [illegible] in strong and earnest resolutions, [illegible] his course, and urging him to [illegible] The Legislatures of Massachusetts [illegible] rallied to his support. In solemn [illegible] protested against the virtual [illegible] of petition—against slavery and [illegible] District of Columbia—gave their [illegible] principles advocated by Mr. Adams [illegible]

countenance to all measures calculated to sustain them.

Large bodies of people in the Eastern, Northern, and Middle States, sympathized with him in his support of the most sacred of privileges bestowed on man. Representative after Representative were sent to Congress, who gathered around him, and co-operated with him in his holy warfare against the iron rule which slavery had been enabled to establish in the national Legislature. With renewed energy he resisted the mighty current which was undermining the foundations of the Republic, and bearing away upon its turbid waters the liberties of the people. And he resisted not in vain.

The brave old man lived to see his labors, in this department of duty, crowned with abundant success. One after another the cohorts of slavery gave way before the incessant assaults, the unwearied perseverance of Mr. Adams, and the faithful compeers who were sent by the people to his support. At length, in 1845, the obnoxious "gag rule" was rescinded, and Congress consented to receive, and treat respectfully, all petitions on the subject of slavery. This was a [illegible] which amply compensated Mr. Adams [illegible] he had put forth, and for all the [illegible] in achieving it.

hearted speech on the slave question, [illegible] Palfrey—a speech, of which it is not too high praise to suppose it would not have disparaged the exalted reputation of Mr. Adams, had he made it himself. Aye, more, he lived to see the whole House of Representatives—the members from the South, no less than those from the North, attentive and respectful listeners to that speech of an hour's length, on the political as well as moral aspect of slavery in this Republic. What a triumph! At the close of it, the moral conqueror exclaimed, 'God [illegible] are broken, the door is open.' "*

If anything were wanting to crown the fame of Mr. Adams, in the last days of life, with imperishable honor, or to add, if possible, new brilliancy to the beams of his setting sun, it is found in his advocacy of the freedom of the Amistad slaves.

A ship-load of negroes had been stolen from Africa, contrary to the law of nations, of humanity and of God, and surreptitiously smuggled, in the night, into the Island of Cuba. This act was piracy, according to the law of Spain, and of all Governments in Christendom, and the perpetrators thereof, had they been detected, would have been punished with death. Immediately after the landing of these [illegible] about thirty-six of them were purchased by [illegible] pirates, by two Spaniards named [illegible] Don Pedro Montes, who shipped [illegible] Cuba, in the schooner *Amistad*, [illegible] out from Havana, the African [illegible] and crew, and took possession of [illegible] the lives of their purchasers [illegible]

* Rev. E. [illegible]

transaction was unquestionably justifiable on the part of the negroes. They had been stolen from their native land—had fallen into the hands of pirates and robbers, and reduced to abject slavery. According to the first law of nature—the law of self-defence—implanted in the bosom of every human being by the Creator, they were justified in taking any measures necessary to restore them to the enjoyment of that freedom which was theirs by birthright.

The negroes being unable to manage the schooner, compelled Ruiz and Montes to navigate her, and directed them to shape her course for Africa; for it was their design to return to their native land. But they were deceived by the two Spaniards, who brought the schooner to the coast of the United States, where she was taken possession of by Lieut. Gedney, of the U. S. surveying brig Washington, a few miles off Montauk Point, and brought into New London, Conn. The two Spaniards claimed the Africans as their property; and the Spanish Minister demanded of the President of the United States, that they be delivered up to the [illegible] and taken back to Havana, to be [illegible] slaves. The matter was brought [illegible]

ment of the United States had [illegible] them into slavery; and directed that [illegible] in one of our public ships to the shores of Africa, from whence they had but recently been [illegible]. From this decision the U. S. District Attorney appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States [illegible].

These transactions attracted the attention of the whole people of the Union, and naturally excited the sympathy of the masses, *pro* and *con*, [illegible] favorable or unfavorable to the institution of slavery. Who should defend, in the Supreme Court, these poor outcasts—ignorant, degraded, wretched—who had, with a noble energy, had burst the shackles of slavery, and by a wave of fortune had been thrown into the midst of a people professing freedom, yet [illegible] feet on the necks of millions of slaves? [illegible] all the friends of human rights turned instinctively to JOHN QUINCY ADAMS. Nor were their expectations disappointed. Without hesitation he [illegible] cause of the Amistad negroes. At the age of [illegible] four, he appeared in the Supreme Court of the United States to advocate their cause. He [illegible] labor with the enthusiasm of a [illegible] displayed forensic talents, a critical [illegible] and of the inalienable rights of [illegible] added to the renown of the [illegible] the day.

"When he went to the Supreme [illegible] absence of thirty years, and [illegible]

friendless negroes, torn from their home and most unjustly held in thrall—when he asked the Judges to excuse him at once both for the trembling faults of age and the inexperience of youth, having labored so long elsewhere that he had forgotten the rules of court—when he summed up the conclusion of the whole matter, and brought before those judicial but yet moistening eyes, the great men whom he had once met there—Chase, Cushing, Martin, Livingston, and Marshal himself; and while he remembered that they were 'gone, gone, all gone,' remembered also the eternal Justice that is never gone—the sight was sublime. It was not an old patrician of Rome, who had been Consul, Dictator, coming out of his honored retirement at the Senate's call, to stand in the Forum to levy new armies, marshal them to victory afresh, and gain thereby new laurels for his brow; but it was a plain citizen of America, who had held an office far greater than that of Consul, King, or Dictator, his hand reddened by no man's blood, expecting no honors, but [illegible] in the name of justice, to plead for the slave, [illegible] barbarian negro of Africa, for Cinque and [illegible] for their lands comparing them to Harmodius [illegible] whose clarion [illegible] made [illegible] [illegible] for [illegible]

Africans were entitled to their [illegible] allowed them to be liberated. In due time they [illegible], by the assistance of the charitable, to [illegible] and take with them many of the [illegible] ized life. They arrived in safety at [illegible] were allowed once more to mingle with their [illegible] and enjoy God's gift of freedom, in a [illegible] having fortunately *escaped* from a [illegible] bondage, in the midst of a *Christian* people.

In reply to a letter requesting Mr. Adams to [illegible] out his argument in this case, he concludes as follows: "I shall endeavor, as you desire, to [illegible] extent, my argument before the Court, in [illegible] this was noticed and commented upon [illegible] other effect, I hope it will at least have [illegible] ishing the free people of this Union to keep [illegible] watchful eyes upon every act of their [illegible] ministration, having any relation to the [illegible] slavery."

In availing the country of the [illegible] sonian Bequest," and in founding the [illegible] stitute" at Washington, Mr. Adams [illegible] He repeatedly called the attention of [illegible] subject, until he succeeded in [illegible] passed providing for the establishment [illegible] He was appointed one of the Regents [illegible] which office he held until his death [illegible]

In the summer of 1843, Mr. Adams visited Lebanon Springs, N. Y., for the benefit of his health, which had become somewhat impaired, and also the health of a cherished member of his family. He designed to devote only four or five days to this journey; but he was so highly pleased with the small portion of the State of New York he saw at Lebanon Springs, that he was induced to proceed further. He visited Saratoga, Lake George, Lower Canada, Montreal and Quebec. Returning, he ascended the St. Lawrence and the Lakes as far as Niagara Falls and Buffalo, and by the way of Rochester, Auburn, Utica and Albany, sought his home in Quincy with health greatly improved.

Although Mr. Adams had many bitter enemies—made so by his fearless independence, and the stern integrity with which he discharged the public duties entrusted to him—yet in the hearts of the people he ever occupied the highest position. They not only respected and admired the politician, the statesman, [illegible] they loved him for his [illegible] philanthropy, his disinterested patriotism, [illegible] to freedom and human rights. All this [illegible] during his stay through New York. [illegible]

such an anxious desire to hold [illegible] been manifested by the entire [illegible]. His progress was one continued triumphal procession. "I may say," exclaimed Mr. Adams [illegible] of his tour, "without being charged with [illegible] vanity, I have come not alone, for the whole people of the State of New York have been my [illegible]."

At Buffalo he was received with [illegible] demonstration of respect. The [illegible] was streaming from an hundred masts, [illegible], and the decks and rigging of the vessels [illegible] by thousands anxious to catch a glimpse of the renowned statesman and patriot, who [illegible] repeated cheers. Hon. Millard Fillmore [illegible] him with great eloquence. The following [illegible] clusion of his speech:—

"You see around you, sir, no political partisans [illegible] mote some sinister purpose; but you see here [illegible] of our infant city, without distinction of [illegible] dition—all, all anxiously vieing with each other [illegible] respect and esteem for your public [illegible]. Here are gathered, in this vast [illegible] you strange faces, thousands whose [illegible] chord of sympathy which your [illegible]. Here is reflecting age, and ardent youth, [illegible] all of whom your venerated name is [illegible] all anxious to feast their eyes by a [illegible] venerable man, of whom they have heard [illegible] much—all anxious to hear the voice of [illegible] whose lips wisdom has distilled for [illegible] see them all, and read in their eager and [illegible] and brightly-beaming eyes, a [illegible] soul-stirring welcome to the last [illegible]

Mr. Adams responded to this speech in a strain of most interesting remarks. He commenced as follows:—

"I must request your indulgence for a moment's pause to take breath. If you inquire why I ask this indulgence, it is because I am so overpowered by the eloquence of my friend, the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, (whom I have been so long accustomed to refer to in that capacity, that, with your permission, I will continue so to denominate him now,) that I have no words left to answer him. For so liberal has he been in bestowing that eloquence upon me which he himself possesses in so eminent a degree, that while he was ascribing to me talents so far above my own consciousness in that regard, I was all the time imploring the god of eloquence to give me, at least at this moment, a few words to justify him before you in making that splendid panegyric which he has been pleased to bestow upon me; and that the flattering picture which he has presented to you, may not immediately be defaced before your eyes by what you should hear from me. * * * * * *

In concluding his remarks he said:—"Of your attachment to moral principle I have this day had another and pleasing proof in the dinner of which I have partaken in the steamer, in which, by your invitation, I have been conveyed to this place. It was a sumptuous dinner, but at which *temperance* was the presiding power. I congratulate you on the evidence there exhibited of your attachment to moral principle, in your co-operation in that great movement [illegible] promoting the happiness and elevation of man in [illegible] the great.

[illegible] you will permit me to allude to an incident which has [illegible] at Charles-ton, in which I perceived the co-[illegible] great moral [illegible]

that parish. Perhaps I do not [illegible] the people of Beauport in attributing to the [illegible] upon this moral reform; but in the [illegible] that monument I do most cordially [illegible], under whatever influence the cause may be [illegible] itself can never fail to make its votaries [illegible] I cannot make a speech. My [illegible] feeble. Farewell! And with that [illegible] heaven be upon you throughout your lives [illegible]

Mr. Adams was greatly [illegible] to Niagara Falls. A letter-writer [illegible]

"Mr. Adams seems incapable of fatigue [illegible] After a drive in the morning to Lewiston, [illegible] to the Falls, at the whirlpool. The descent [illegible] which is not often made, is, as you will [illegible] down a steep of some three hundred [illegible] party was about going down, when [illegible] would accompany him. Gen. Porter, [illegible] present remonstrated, and told him it [illegible] taking for a young and hearty man, [illegible] such a hot day, quite impracticable. [illegible] his capacities; and this old man, [illegible] only made the descent, but clambered [illegible] rocks along the margin of the river, [illegible] sented at different points. The [illegible] quite adequate to the labor; and after [illegible] summit, resumed his ride, full of [illegible] structive conversation. After dinner [illegible] Island, and beheld the cataract from [illegible] tinued his explorations until all was [illegible] seemed greatly impressed by the [illegible] the scene of rage and repose—of the [illegible] the mighty river down the [illegible] precipice—and the, [illegible] I wish I could repeat to you his [illegible] rambles, replete with brilliant [illegible] tions, and the most [illegible]

mation. * * * * * * I sincerely concur with the worthy captain of one of our steamboats, who said to me the other day,—'Oh, that we could take the *engine* out of the old "Adams," and put it into a new hull!'"

During his visit at the Falls, Mr. Adams, on a Sabbath morning, accompanied by Gen. Porter, visited the remnant of the Tuscarora Indians, and attended divine service in their midst. At the conclusion of the sermon, Mr. Adams made a brief address to the Indians, which is thus described by the letter-writer alluded to above:—

"Mr. Adams alluded to his advanced age, and said this was the first time he had ever looked upon their beautiful fields and forests —that he was truly happy to meet them there and join with them in the worship of our common Parent—reminded them that in years past he had addressed them from the position which he then occupied, in language, at once that of his station and his heart, as 'his children'—and that now, as a private citizen, he hailed them in terms of equal warmth and endearment, as his 'brethren and sisters.' He alluded, with a simple eloquence which seemed to move the [illegible] to the equal care and love with which God regards all his creatures, whether savage or civilized, and to the common destiny which awaits them hereafter, however various their lot here. He [illegible] briefly and forcibly on the topics of the sermon which [illegible] concluded with a beautiful and touching [illegible]

[illegible] multitudes assembled to re- [illegible] He was [illegible] attentive [illegible]

astonishment and gratitude at what I [illegible] of your kindness, to make a speech, I [illegible] adorned with all the chaste yet simple [illegible] combined in the address to which you have just listened from your worthy Mayor. But it is not in my power. You may probably think there is some affectation on my part, in pretending [illegible] address you, knowing as many of you do, that I have often addressed assemblies like this. But I hope for greater indulgence from you than this. I trust you will consider that I have seen and spoken to multitudes like that now before me, but that those multitudes had frowning faces. Those I could meet, and to those I could speak. But to you, whose every face is expressive of generous affection—to you, in whose every countenance I see kindness and friendship—I cannot speak. It is too much for me. It overcomes my powers of speech. It is a new scene to me. * * * * * *

"Amongst the sentiments which I have expressed, and the observations which I have made during my brief tour through this portion of your State, it was impossible for me to forego a constant comparison with what New York was in other days, and what it is now. I first set my feet upon the soil of the new-founded State in 1785. I then visited the city of New York, at that time a place of 18,000 inhabitants. I tarried, while in that city, under roof of John Jay—a man whom I name, and whom all will remember as one of the most illustrious of the distinguished [illegible] our beloved country through the dark period of the [illegible] Jay, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs, [illegible] Federation, was laying the foundation of a [illegible] which was separated by the distance of [illegible] other dwelling. At that time, being [illegible] an invitation to visit western New York; [illegible] often, but never more than now, that I had [illegible] tion. Oh! what would I not have given [illegible] this great State then, that I might be [illegible] now is. * * * * *

"It has seemed to me as if in the [illegible] tended to make a more sublime [illegible] other portion of the world. He has [illegible] the majestic cataract, whose sound [illegible] and in fight—in the mind of man [illegible]

accomplished to make your city what it is, the aged have done the most. The middle aged may say we will improve upon what has been done; and the young, we shall accomplish still more than our fathers. That, fellow-citizens, was the boast in the ancient Spartan procession—a procession which was divided into three classes—the old, the middle-aged, and the young. They had a saying which each class repeated in turn. The aged said—

> 'We have been, in days of old,
> Wise and gentle, brave and bold.'

The middle-aged said—

> 'We, in turn, your place supply;
> Who doubts it, let them come and try.'

And the boys said—

> 'Hereafter, at our country's call,
> We promise to surpass you all.'

And so it will be with you—each in your order."

At Auburn every possible token of respect was paid to the venerable statesman. A committee consisting of ex-Gov. Seward, Judge Conklin, Judge Miller, Luman Sherwood, P. H. Perry, S. A. Goodwin, James C. Wood, and J. L. Doty, Esqs., proceeded to Canandaigua to meet Mr. Adams. At half past nine o'clock [illegible] evening, Mr. Adams, accompanied by the committee, [illegible] in Auburn. He was received by a [illegible] composed of the Auburn Guards, [illegible]

to-morrow morning, by the light of the [illegible] every one of you by the hand, [illegible] for immediate utterance."

On the following morning at [illegible] visited the State Prison, and made [illegible] concerning the discipline of the prison, and [illegible] in the prevention of crime and reformation of offenders. At 9 o'clock he met the citizens in the First Presbyterian church, where he was addressed by Gov. Seward, as follows:—

"SIR:—I am charged with the very honorable [illegible] able duty, of expressing to you the [illegible] esteem of my fellow-citizens, [illegible]

"A change has come over the spirit of your [illegible] steps have turned towards your ancestral [illegible] cursion to invigorate health impaired by labors, [illegible] in the public councils, and expected to be [illegible] has become one of fatigue and [illegible] vance escape before you, and a [illegible] up in their clustering cities, towns, [illegible] with demonstrations of respect and [illegible] unpretending journey into a triumphal [illegible] frequently attend public functionaries, [illegible] times find it difficult to determine how [illegible] ceives is paid to his own worth, [illegible] habitual reverence of good republicans [illegible] authority, and how much from the [illegible]

"You, sir, labor under no such [illegible] hold, though honorable, is purely [illegible] bestow by our immediate suffrage on [illegible] ferred personal benefits sparingly [illegible] the nation. That patronage you have [illegible] regain. Your hands will be [illegible] days, to invoke blessings on your [illegible] tribute honors or reward [illegible]

paid you, dear sir, is sincere, for it has its sources in the just sentiments and irrepressible affections of a free people, their love of truth, their admiration of wisdom, their reverence for virtue, and their gratitude for beneficence.

"Nor need you fear that enthusiasm exaggerates your title to the public regard. Your fellow-citizens, in spite of political prudence, could not avoid honoring you on grounds altogether irrespective of personal merit. John Adams, who has gone to receive the reward of the just, was one of the most efficient and illustrious founders of this Empire, and afterwards its Chief Ruler. The son of such a father would, in any other age, and even in this age, in any other country than this, have been entitled, by birth alone, to a sceptre. We not merely deny hereditary claims to civil trust, but regard even hereditary distinction with jealousy. And this circumstance enhances justly the estimate of your worth. For when before has it happened that in such a condition of society the son has, by mere civic achievement, attained the eminence of such a sire, and effaced remembrance of birth by justly acquired renown?

"The hand we now so eagerly grasp, was pressed in confidence and friendship by the Father of our Country. The wreath we place on your honored brow, received its earliest leaves from the hand of Washington. We cannot expect, with the agency of free and unrestrained suffrage, to be always governed by the wise and the good. But surely your predecessors in the Chief Magistracy, were men such as never before successively wielded power in any State. Men differed in policy as they must, and yet, throughout their successive administrations, without any sacrifice of personal independence, and while passing from immature youth to ripened age, you were counsellor and minister to them all. We seem therefore, in this interview with you, to come into the presence of our departed chiefs; [illegible] Washington [illegible] the [illegible] Adams; and we listen to the [illegible] Jefferson, the refined and [illegible]

our grateful remembrance of it is [illegible] you now receive from your fellow-citizens [illegible]

"But your claims to the veneration of your [illegible] do not end here. Your predecessors descended from the [illegible] to enjoy, in repose and tranquillity, honors [illegible] which belonged to that eminent station. It was [illegible] to illustrate the important truths, that office and [illegible] are not the end of public service, but are merely incidents in the life of the true American citizen; that duties remain when the highest [illegible] are resigned; and that there is scope for a pure and [illegible] patriotism beyond even the Presidency of the United States of America.

"You have devoted the energies of a [illegible] mind, the training and experience acquired through more than [illegible] years, and even the influence and fame derived from your high [illegible] of public service, to the great cause of universal liberty. The [illegible] you bestow are already echoed back to us by [illegible] and full across the Atlantic, hailing you as the [illegible] champion of humanity—not the humanity which [illegible] or clime, but that humanity which regards the [illegible] of MAN. Such salutations as these cannot [illegible] not from your contemporaries, for they are [illegible] this generation, but of the PAST, spared to [illegible] TERITY. The greetings you receive [illegible] uncertain FUTURE. They are the [illegible] FAME—fame which impatiently awaits your [illegible] spreading wider and growing more [illegible] to JOHN QUINCY ADAMS a name to [illegible] TON!"

The audience expressed their [illegible] address by long and enthusiastic [illegible] order was restored, Mr. Adams [illegible] great and unaffected embarrassment.

He replied to the speech in [illegible] an hour, during which the [illegible] was riveted upon the speaker, [illegible]

and affection. He declared the embarrassment he felt in speaking. He was sensible that his fellow-citizens had laid aside all partizan feelings in coming up to greet him. He desired to speak what would not wound the feelings of any one. He was grateful, deeply grateful, to them all. But on what subject of public interest could a public man speak, that would find harmony among an intelligent, thinking people? There were such subjects, but he could not speak of them.

The people of Western New York had always been eminently just and generous to him, and had recently proved their kindness on various occasions, by inviting him to address the State Agricultural Society on agriculture. But his life had been spent in the closet, in diplomacy, or in the cabinet; and he had not learned the practice, or even the theory of agriculture. After what he had seen of the harvests of Western New York, bursting with food for the sustenance of man, for him to address the people of such a district on agriculture, would be as absurd as the vanity of the rhetorician who went to Carthage to instruct Hannibal in the art of war. He had been solicited to address the young. In [illegible] he had been an instructor of youth, and, [illegible] he [illegible] [illegible]

him now to attempt to instruct the [illegible] generation, would evince only the [illegible]

He had been invited to discourse on [illegible] improvement; but that was a subject he [illegible] to touch. On one point, however, all men agreed. All were in favor of internal improvement. But there was a balance between the reasonable sacrifices of this generation, and the burden it had a right to cast upon posterity, and every individual might justly claim to hold his balance for himself. One thing, however, he was sure he might assume with safety. In looking over the State of New York, upon its canals and railroads which brought the borders of the State into [illegible] and its citizens in every part into communion, [illegible] he was sure that all rejoiced, and might well [illegible] what had been accomplished.

Mr. A. said he had read and [illegible] himself concerning prison discipline, [illegible] interesting to the peace, good order, [illegible] society; but after his examination [illegible] here, he was satisfied that he was [illegible] of being able to give instructing [illegible] subject.

He had been asked to collect [illegible] of temperance, and discourse [illegible] cherished by every well wisher of [illegible] he would cheerfully speak; but [illegible] men had occupied the field, and [illegible] to say on temperance? [illegible]

Lower Canada he saw a column erected to the Virgin Mary, in gratitude for her promotion of the temperance cause. If indeed the blessed Virgin did lend her aid to that great work, it would almost win him to worship at her shrine, although he belonged to that class of people who rejected the invocation of saints.

He felt, therefore, that he had no subject on which to address them, but himself and his own public life. The experience of an old man, related by himself, would, he feared, be more irksome than profitable.

"What, then, am I to say? I am summoned here to speak, and to reply to what has been said to me by my respected friend, your late Chief Magistrate. And what is the theme he has given me? It is myself. And what can I say on such a subject? To know that he entertains, or that you entertain, for me the sentiments he has expressed, absolutely overpowers me. I cannot go on. The only answer I can make, is a declaration, that during my public service, now protracted to nearly the age of eighty, I have endeavored to serve my country honestly and faithfully. How imperfectly I have done this, (none seem so conscious as myself,) I must stop. I can only repeat [illegible] thanks to you, one and all, and implore [illegible] of this reply, Mr. Adams was [illegible]

receiving the visits of the citizens of the adjoining towns. At 11 o'clock the Auburn Guards escorted Mr. Adams and the committee, followed by a large procession, to the car-house. Accompanied by Gov. Seward, Judge Miller, Hon. Christopher Morgan, the committee, Auburn Guards, and a number of the citizens of Auburn, he was conveyed in an extra train of cars, in an hour and five minutes, to Syracuse.

At Syracuse, at Utica, at Albany, the same spontaneous outgushing manifestations of respect and affection met him that had hitherto attended his journey in every populous place through which he passed. In his reply to the address of Mr. Barnard, at Albany, he concluded in the following words:—

"Lingering as I am on the stage of public life, and, as [illegible] you may think, lingering beyond the period when [illegible] repose—while I remain in the station which I [illegible] Congress of the United States, if you, my [illegible] or if any one among you, as an individual, have any [illegible] pose to promote, or any end to secure that [illegible] way advance his interests or increase his [illegible] name of God, I ask you *to send your petitions* [illegible] cheering.) I hope this is not trespassing [illegible] (Laughter, and cheers.) I unhesitatingly [illegible] that if I can in any way serve you in that [illegible] cheerfully; regarding it as the choicest [illegible] thus be enabled to make some just return [illegible] which you have this day bestowed upon [illegible]

In his route homeward, Mr. Adams [illegible] and entertained in a very [illegible] people of Pittsfield, Mass. He [illegible]

George N. Briggs, who alluded, in eloquent terms, to his long and distinguished public services. Mr. Adams, in reply, spoke of the scenes amidst which he had passed his early youth, and of the influence which they exerted in forming his character and shaping his purposes. "In 1775," said he, "the minute men from a hundred towns in the province were marching, at a moment's warning, to the scene of opening war. Many of them called at my father's house in Quincy, and received the hospitality of John Adams. All were lodged in the house which the house would contain; others in the barns, and wherever they could find a place. There were then in my father's kitchen *some dozen or two of pewter spoons;* and I well recollect going into the kitchen and seeing some of the men engaged *in running those spoons into bullets for the use of the troops!* Do you wonder," said he, "that a boy of seven years of age, who witnessed this scene, should be a patriot?"

In the fall of the same year, Mr. Adams received an invitation from the Cincinnati Astronomical Society, to visit that city, and assist in the ceremony of laying the [illegible] stone of an observatory, to be erected on an em- [illegible] The invitation was accepted. [illegible] demonstrations [illegible]

The ceremony of laying the corner-stone took place on the 9th of November, 1843. Mr. Adams delivered an address on the occasion, replete with eloquence, wisdom, philosophy, and religion. The following beautiful extract will afford a specimen:—

"The various difficult, and, in many respects, opposite motives which have impelled mankind to the study of the stars, have had a singular effect in complicating and confounding the [illegible] condition of the science. Religion, idolatry, superstition, destiny, the thirst for knowledge, the passion for penetrating the secrets of nature, the warfare of the huntsman by night and by day against the beast of the forest and of the field, the meditations of the shepherd in the custody and wanderings of his flocks, the influence of the revolving seasons of the year, and the successive garniture of the firmament upon the labors of the husbandman, upon the seed time and the harvest, the blooming of flowers, the ripening of vintages, the polar pilot of the navigator, and the mysterious magnet of the mariner—all, in harmonious action, stimulate the child of earth and of heaven to interrogate the dazzling splendors of the [illegible] him the laws of their own existence.

"He has his own comforts, his own [illegible] identified with theirs. He sees the Creator [illegible] upon creation to declare the glory of the [illegible] goras, the philosopher of the Grecian schools, [illegible] than earthly idea of 'the music of the [illegible] dramatist of nature could inspire the [illegible] light green with the beloved of his [illegible]

'Sit, Jessica.—Look how the floor [illegible]
In this hallet with patines of bright gold:
There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st
But in his motion like an angel sings,
Still choiring to the young-eyed cherubim.'

"Oh, who is the one with a [illegible] this muddy vesture of decay, to hi[illegible] the celestial harmony!"

CHAPTER XV.

MR. ADAMS' LAST APPEARANCE IN PUBLIC AT BOSTON—HIS HEALTH—LECTURES ON HIS JOURNEY TO WASHINGTON—REMOTE CAUSE OF HIS DECEASE—STRUCK WITH PARALYSIS—LEAVES QUINCY FOR WASHINGTON FOR THE LAST TIME—HIS FINAL SICKNESS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—HIS DEATH—THE FUNERAL AT WASHINGTON—REMOVAL OF THE BODY TO QUINCY—ITS INTERMENT.

The last time Mr. Adams appeared in public in Boston, he presided at a meeting of the citizens of that city, in Faneuil Hall. "A man had been kidnapped in Boston—kidnapped at noon-day, 'on the high road between Faneuil Hall and old Quincy,' and carried off to be a slave! New England hands had seized their brother, sold him into bondage forever, and his [illegible] after him. A meeting was called to talk the [illegible] in a plain way, and look in one another's [illegible] to preside in such a case? That [illegible] in Faneuil Hall. Above him [illegible]

spanned over them all. Forty years before, a young man and a Senator, he had taken the chair at a meeting called to consult on the wrong done to American seamen, violently impressed by the British from an American ship of war—the unlucky Chesapeake. Now an old man, clothed with half a century of honors, he sits in the same Hall, to preside over a meeting to consider the outrage done to a single slave. One was the first meeting of citizens he ever presided over; the other was the last: both for the same object—the defence of the eternal right!"*

Few men retain the health and vigor with which Mr. Adams was blessed in extreme old age. When most others are decrepit and helpless, he was in the enjoyment of meridian strength and energy of body and mind, and could endure labors which would prostrate many in the prime of manhood. [illegible] of his powers of endurance is furnished in his journey to Washington, to attend the [illegible] when in the 74th year of his age. On [illegible] he left Boston, and the same evening [illegible] before the Young Men's Institute, in [illegible] The next day he proceeded to New [illegible] evening lectured before a similar [illegible] Wednesday he pursued his journey [illegible] in the evening lectured before the [illegible] in the Broadway Tabernacle. [illegible]

delivered an address before an association in Brooklyn; and on Friday evening delivered a second lecture before the New York Lyceum. Here were labors which would seriously tax the constitution of vigorous youth; and yet Mr. Adams performed them with much comparative ease.

His great longevity, and his general good health, must be attributed, in no small degree, to his abstemious and temperate habits, early rising, and active exercise. He took pleasure in athletic amusements, and was exceedingly fond of walking. During his summer residence in Quincy, he has been known to walk to his son's residence in Boston (seven miles,) before breakfast. "While President of the United States, he was probably the first man up in Washington, lighted his own fire, and was hard at work in his library, while sleep yet held in its obliviousness the great mass of his fellow-citizens." He was an expert swimmer, and was in the constant habit of bathing, whenever circumstances would permit. Not unfrequently, the first beams of the rising sun, as they fell upon the beautiful Potomac, would find Mr. Adams buffeting its waves with all the sportiveness and dexterity of boyhood, while a [illegible] watched upon the shore. [illegible] he [illegible] made a journey [illegible] Quincy on horseback, [illegible]

frosts upon his brow, and still he was in the vigor of his usefulness. Promptly at his post in the Hall of Representatives stood the veteran sentinel, watching vigilantly over the interests of his country. With an eye undimmed by age, a quick ear, a ready hand, an intellect unimpaired, he guarded the citadel of liberty, ever on the alert to detect, and mighty to repel, the approach of the foe, however covert or however open his attacks. Never did the Union, never did freedom, the world, more need his services than now. A large territory, of sufficient extent to form several States, had been blighted by slavery, and annexed to the United Sates. A sanguinary and expensive war, growing out of this strengthening of the slave power, had just terminated, adding to the Union still larger territories—now free soil indeed, but furnishing a field for renewed battles between slavery and freedom. New revolutions were about to break forth in Europe, to convulse the Eastern Hemisphere, and [illegible] thrones to totter and fall!

How momentous the era! [illegible] with the prosperity of the American [illegible] the progress of man—the freedom [illegible] happiness of succeeding generations! [illegible] who for years had prominently [illegible] as the leader of the hosts contending [illegible] the liberties of humanity, be spared [illegible] a juncture? Who could put on [illegible] wield his weapons? [illegible]

mount a deadly breach in battles which might yet be waged between the sons of freedom and the propagators of slavery? But the loss was to be experienced. A wise and good Providence had so ordered. The sands of his life had run out. A voice from on high called him away from earth's stormy struggles, to bright and peaceful scenes in the spirit land. He could no longer tarry. Death found the faithful veteran at his post, with his harness on. How applicable the words of Scott, on the departure of Pitt :—

"Hadst thou but lived, though stripp'd of power,
A watchman on the lonely tower,
Thy thrilling trump had roused the land,
When fraud or danger were at hand;
By thee, as by the beacon-light,
Our pilots had kept course aright;
As some proud column, though alone,
Thy strength had propp'd the tottering throne.
Now is the stately column broke,
The beacon-light is quenched in smoke,
The trumpet's silver sound is still,
The warder silent on the hill!
O think how, to his latest day,
When death, just hovering, claimed his prey,
With Palinure's unaltered mood,
Firm at his dangerous post he stood;
Each call for needful rest repell'd,
With dying hand the rudder held,
[illegible]

1840. The accident is thus [illegible] witness:—

"It had been a very warm day, [illegible] extraordinary excitement, when, a few [illegible] the House adjourned, and most of the members [illegible] an oppressive atmosphere, in the arbors and [illegible] ing Congressional gardens.

"At that time I held a subordinate [illegible] usually confined me, the larger portion of the day [illegible] debate, to one of the committee rooms; while [illegible] day I occupied as a reporter.

"Mr. Adams was always the first man in [illegible] last man out of it; and, as I usually detained [illegible] more after adjournment, in writing up my [illegible] contact with him. He was pleased to call at [illegible] before he went home, and indulge in some [illegible] conversation. On the day referred to, just [illegible] and was throwing his last rays through [illegible] up, and saw Mr. Adams approaching. He [illegible] desk, and had uplifted his hand in friendly [illegible] pitched headlong, some six or eight feet, [illegible] the sharp corner of an iron rail that [illegible] aisles leading to the circle within the bar, [illegible] sion on his forehead, and rendering him [illegible] leaped from my seat, took the prostrate [illegible] found that he was in a state of utter [illegible] Looking around for aid, I had the good [illegible] James Munroe, of the New York [illegible] his desk to procure a paper he had [illegible] alarm, he flew to the rescue, manifesting [illegible] the welfare of the venerable statesman, [illegible] keeper, with two or more of his [illegible] had applied a plentiful supply of cold [illegible] turned to consciousness, and requested [illegible] his residence. In less than five minutes [illegible] Mr. George H. Proff, Mr. Ogden [illegible] Williams, of Tennessee, were called [illegible] and Mr. Adams was being carried [illegible]

Square, when, it being ascertained that his shoulder was dislocated, the carriage was stopped at the door of the private hotel of Col. Munroe, in Pennsylvania Avenue, between Eleventh and Twelfth streets; the suffering, but not complaining statesman, was taken out, and surgical aid instantly put in requisition. Doctor Sewall was sent for; when it was ascertained that the left shoulder-joint was out of the socket; and, though Mr. Adams must have suffered intensely, he complained not—did not utter a groan or a murmur.

"More than an hour elapsed before the dislocated limb could be adjusted; and to effect which, his arm endured, in a concentrated and continued wrench or pull, many minutes at a time, the united strength of Messrs. Grinnell, Munroe, Profit, and Hoffman. Still Mr. Adams uttered not a murmur, though the great drops of sweat that rolled down his furrowed cheeks, or stood upon his brow, told but too well the physical agony he endured. As soon as his arm was adjusted, he insisted on being carried home, and his wishes were complied with.

"The next morning I was at the capitol at a very early hour, attending to some writing. I thought of, and lamented the accident that had befallen Mr. Adams, and had already commenced writing an account of it to a correspondent. At that instant I withdrew my eyes from the paper on which I was writing, and saw Mr. Adams standing a foot or two from me, carefully examining the carpeting. 'Sir,' said he, 'I am looking for that place in the matting that last night tripped me. If it be not fastened down, it may kill some one.' And then he continued his search for the trick-stung matting."

[illegible] Mr. Adams, after this accident did not enjoy as [illegible] health as in previous years, yet was more active [illegible] than the majority of those who attain to [illegible] On the 20th of November, 1846, he ex[illegible] first [illegible] of the fatal disease, which [illegible]

Washington, he was walking [illegible] that a new Medical College, and was [illegible] by the way. This affliction [illegible] several weeks, when he obtained sufficient [illegible] to Washington, and enter upon his duties in the House of Representatives. He viewed this attack as the touch of death. An interregnum of nearly [illegible] occurs in his journal. The next entry [illegible] the head of "Posthumous Memoir." After describing his recent sickness, he continues:—"From this [illegible] I date my decease, and consider myself, for [illegible] purpose, to myself and fellow-[illegible] hence I call this, and what I may [illegible] *posthumous memoir*."

Although he was after this, regular [illegible] at the House of Representatives, yet [illegible] as freely in debate as formerly. [illegible] ing summer, as usual, at his seat in [illegible] vember, he left his native town for [illegible] return no more in life!

On Sunday, the 20th of February, [illegible] in unusual health. In the forenoon he [illegible] worship at the capitol, and in the [illegible] John's church. At nine o'clock [illegible] retired with his wife to his library [illegible] him a sermon of Bishop Wilberforce [illegible] vering, as he was, on the verge [illegible] was the last night he passed [illegible]

Monday, the 21st, he rose [illegible]

hour, and engaged in his accustomed occupations with his pen. An extraordinary alacrity pervaded his movements, and the cheerful step with which he ascended the steps of the capitol was remarked by his attendants. He occupied a portion of the forenoon in composing a few stanzas of poetry, at the request of a friend, and had signed his name twice for members who desired to obtain his autograph.

Mr. Chase had introduced a resolution of thanks to Generals Twiggs, Worth, Quitman, Pillow, Shields, Pearce, Cadwalader, and Smith, for their services in the Mexican war, and awarding them gold medals. Mr. Adams was in his seat, and voted on the two questions preliminary to ordering its engrossment, with an uncommonly emphatic tone of voice. About half past one o'clock, P. M., as the Speaker had risen to put another question to the House, the proceedings were suddenly interrupted by cries of "Stop!—stop!—Mr. Adams!" There was a quick movement towards the chair of Mr. Adams, by two or three members, and in a moment he was surrounded by a large number of Representatives, eagerly inquiring—"What's the matter?"—"What is the trouble?" "What is the trouble?" Johnson Quincy [illegible] in his seat, and apparently about [illegible]

exclaimed several voices. He [illegible] prevented from falling to the floor by [illegible] Ohio, whose seat was near his—Mr. [illegible] received him in his arms. Immediately Mr. [illegible], one of his colleagues from Massachusetts, [illegible] his side, keeping off a press of anxious friends, and bathing his face with iced water.

"He was immediately lifted into the aisle in front of the Clerk's table. The Speaker instantly suggested that some gentleman move an adjournment, which being promptly done, the House adjourned. A sofa was brought, and Mr. Adams, in a state of perfect helplessness, though not of entire insensibility, was gently laid upon it. The sofa was then taken up and borne out of the Hall into the Rotunda, where it was set down, and the members of both Houses and strangers, who were fast crowding around, with some difficulty repressed, and an open space left in its immediate vicinity; but a medical gentleman, a member of the House, (who was present, and self-possessed throughout the whole affair,) advised that he be removed to the adjacent [illegible] opening on the east portico, where [illegible] blowing. This was done; but the [illegible] and loaded with vapor, the [illegible] of Mr. Winthrop, once more [illegible] the Speaker's apartment, the door [illegible] forthwith closed to all but [illegible] particular friends."

The features of the dying patriarch were almost as rigid as though in death; but there was a serenity in his countenance which betokened an absence of pain. There were five physicians, members of the House, present, viz.:—Drs. Newell, Fries, Edwards, Jones of Georgia, and Lord. These gentlemen were unremitting in their attentions. Drs. Lindsley and Thomas, of the city, were also immediately called in. Under the advice of the medical gentlemen present, he was cupped, and mustard plasters were applied, which seemed to afford some relief. Reviving a little and recovering consciousness, Mr. Adams inquired for his wife. She was present, but in extreme illness, and suffering the most poignant sorrow. After a few moments' interval he relapsed again into unconsciousness. A correspondent of the New York Express describes as follows the progress of these melancholy events:—

"*Half past one o'clock.*—Mr. Benton communicated to the Senate the notice of the sudden illness of Mr. Adams, and moved an adjournment of that body.

"*Quarter to two.*—Mr. Adams has several physicians with him, but exhibits no signs of returning consciousness. The report is that he is sinking.

[illegible]

reports, however, are quite [illegible] many despair of his recovery.

"*Three o'clock.*—None but the physicians and the family are present, and the reports again become more and more doubtful. The physicians say that Mr. Adams may not live more than an hour, or he may live two or three days.

"His right side is wholly paralyzed, and the left not under control, there being continually involuntary motions of the muscles. Everything which medical aid can do, has been done for his relief. Briefly, just now, by close attention, he seemed anxious to 'thank the officers of the House.' Then, again, he was heard to say—'*This is the last of earth! I am contented.*' These were the last words which fell from the lips of 'the old man eloquent,' as his spirit plumed itself to soar to other worlds."

Mr. Adams lay in the Speaker's room [illegible] apparent unconsciousness, through [illegible] —Congress, in the meantime, assembled [illegible] silence, and immediately adjourned [illegible] The struggles of contending parties [illegible] for interest, place, power, was hushed [illegible] lence reigned through the halls of [illegible] cautious tread and whispered [illegible] tioners. The soul of a sage [illegible] preparing to depart from the [illegible] heard to ruffle its sweet [illegible] peace, fitting the stormy [illegible]

The elements of life and death continued their uncertain balance until seven o'clock, on the evening of the 23d, when the spirit of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS bade adieu to earth forever, and winged its flight to God.

"Give forth thy chime, thou solemn bell,
Thou grave, unfold thy marble cell;
O earth! receive upon thy breast,
The weary traveller to his rest.

"O God! extend thy arms of love,
A spirit seeketh thee above!
Ye heav'nly palaces unclose,
Receive the weary to repose."

The tidings of Mr. Adams' death flew on electrical wings to every portion of the Union. A statesman, a philanthropist, a father of the Republic, had fallen. A nation heard, and were dissolved in tears!

In the history of American statesmen, none lived a life so long in the public service—none had trusts so numerous confided to their care—none died a death so glorious. Beneath the dome of the nation's capitol; in the midst of the field of his highest usefulness, where he had won faultless laurels of renown; equipped with the armor in which he had fought so many battles for [illegible] the shaft of the king

—as a statesman, lofty and [illegible] purposes; devoted to the interests of the [illegible] sacredly exercising all power entrusted to him [illegible] for the good of the public alone, unmindful of personal interest and aggrandizement; an enthusiastic lover of liberty; a faithful, fearless defender of the rights of man! The sun of his life in its lengthened course through the political heavens, was [illegible] by a spot, undimmed by a cloud; and when, at the close of the long day, it sank beneath the horizon, the whole firmament glowed with the brilliancy of its reflected glories! Rulers, statesmen, legislators! study and emulate such a life—seek after a character [illegible], a death so honorable, a fame [illegible] him—

> "So live, that when thy summons comes to join [illegible]
> The innumerable caravan, that moves [illegible]
> To the pale realms of shade, where each [illegible]
> His chamber in the silent halls of death, [illegible]
> Thou go not, like the quarry-slave at night [illegible]
> Scourged to his dungeon; but, sustained and soothed [illegible]
> By an unfaltering trust, approach thy grave [illegible]
> Like one who wraps the drapery of his couch [illegible]
> About him, and lies down to pleasant dreams."

On the day succeeding his death, [illegible] the two Houses of Congress [illegible] of members, and a crowded [illegible] deep desire felt by all to [illegible] which would take place in [illegible] who had long occupied [illegible]

of the Republic. As soon as the House of Representatives was called to order, the Speaker, (the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts,) rose, and in a feeling manner addressed the House as follows:—

"*Gentlemen of the House of Representatives of the United States:* It has been thought fit that the Chair should announce officially to the House, an event already known to the members individually, and which has filled all our hearts with sadness. A seat on this floor has been vacated, toward which all eyes have been accustomed to turn with no common interest. A voice has been hushed forever in this Hall, to which all ears have been wont to listen with profound reverence. A venerable form has faded from our sight, around which we have daily clustered with an affectionate regard. A name has been stricken from the roll of the living statesmen of our land, which has been associated, for more than half a century, with the highest civil service, and the loftiest civil renown.

"On Monday, the 21st instant, JOHN QUINCY ADAMS sunk in his seat, in presence of us all, by a sudden illness, from which he never recovered; and he died, in the Speaker's room, at a quarter past seven o'clock last evening, with the officers of the House and the delegation of his own Massachusetts around him.

"Whatever advanced age, long experience, great ability, vast learning, accumulated public honors, a spotless private character, and a firm religious faith, could do, to render any one an object of [illegible] and admiration, they have done for this distinguished [illegible] are but feeble terms [illegible] with which the members of this House and [illegible] have long regarded him.

[illegible]

regret, that he has died as he has lived [illegible] desired no other end. 'This is the end of [illegible] last words, uttered on the day on which he [illegible] hear him exclaiming, as he left us—in a [illegible] familiar to him than his native [illegible] *feliciter de vitâ migrare, quam mori.*'

"It is for others to suggest what [illegible] memory. No acts of ours are necessary to [illegible] be due to ourselves and to the country, that [illegible] his character and services should be fully [illegible]

Mr. Holmes of South Carolina [illegible] the House in most eloquent strains. [illegible] are extracts from his eulogy:—

"The mingled tones of sorrow, like the [illegible] have come unto us from a sister State—[illegible] her honored son. The State I have the [illegible] once endured, with yours, a common [illegible] mon cause, and rejoiced in a common [illegible] is meet that in this, the day of your affliction, [illegible] griefs.

"When a great man falls, the nation [illegible] is removed, the people weep. Ours, [illegible] bereavement. The chain which linked [illegible] spirits of former times, has been rudely [illegible] which flowed those living and glorious [illegible] uttered, are closed in death! Yes, [illegible] among us! He has not entered the [illegible] known, ignoble peasant; he has [illegible] of a nation! His footstep has been [illegible] He has cloven down his victim in [illegible] people! He has borne in triumph from [illegible] wisest, most reverend head! Ah! he [illegible] who was once chief over many [illegible] learning, and truth; he has borne [illegible] one of the earth.

"There was no [illegible] Absent, not [illegible]

the night of his country's tribulation, he heard the first murmurs of discontent; he saw the first efforts for deliverance. Whilst yet a little child, he listened with eagerness to the whispers of freedom as they breathed from the lips of her almost inspired apostles: he caught the fire that was then kindled; his eye beamed with the first ray; he watched the day spring from on high, and long before he departed from earth, it was graciously vouchsafed unto him to behold the effulgence of her noontide glory. * * * * * * *

"He disrobed himself with dignity of the vestures of office, not to retire to the shades of Quincy, but, in the maturity of his intellect, in the vigor of his thought, to leap into this arena, and to continue, as he had begun, a disciple, an ardent devotee at the temple of his country's freedom. How, in this department, he ministered to his country's wants, we all know, and have witnessed. How often we have crowded into that aisle, and clustered around that now vacant desk, to listen to the counsels of wisdom, as they fell from the lips of the venerable sage, we can all remember, for it was but of yesterday. But what a change! How wondrous! how sudden! 'Tis like a vision of the night. That form which we beheld but a few days since, is now cold in death!

"But the last Sabbath, and in this hall, he worshipped with others. Now his spirit mingles with the noble army of martyrs, and the just made perfect, in the eternal adoration of the living God. With him "this is the end of earth." He sleeps the sleep that knows no waking. He is gone,—and forever! The sun that ushers in the morn of that next holy day, while it gilds the lofty dome of the capitol, shall rest with soft and mellow light upon the consecrated spot beneath whose turf forever lies the PATRIOT FATHER and the PA-

will wear the usual badge of [illegible] this hall on Saturday next, at 12 o'clock.

"Resolved, That a committee of [illegible] the funeral solemnities.

"Resolved, That the proceedings of [illegible] death of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS be communicated to the kindred of the deceased by the Clerk.

"Resolved, That the seat in this hall [illegible] the late JOHN QUINCY ADAMS be [illegible] and that it, together with the hall, remain [illegible] of mourning during that time.

"Resolved, That the Speaker appoint one [illegible] from each State and Territory, as a committee [illegible] of our venerable friend, the Honorable JOHN QUINCY [illegible] place designated by his friends for his interment.

"Resolved, That this House, as a further [illegible] memory of the deceased, do adjourn to [illegible] pointed for the funeral."

In the Senate, after a formal [illegible] death of Mr. Adams, in a message [illegible] Representatives, Mr. Davis, of [illegible] and delivered a feeling address [illegible] vices of the deceased patriot, [illegible] extracts:—

"Mr. President: By the recent affliction [illegible] Webster,) a painful duty devolves upon [illegible] delivered from the House proves that the [illegible] again among us. A great and good [illegible] If, in speaking of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, [illegible] language of my own heart, I am [illegible] response from the Senate.

"He was born in the then Province [illegible] was girding herself for the great [illegible] then before her. His parentage is [illegible] station; yet I may be [illegible] born to aid in the establishment of [illegible]

mother was a suitable companion and co-laborer of such a patriot. The cradle hymns of the child were the songs of liberty. The power and competence of man for self-government were the topics which he most frequently heard discussed by the wise men of the day, and the inspiration thus caught gave form and pressure to his after life. Thus early imbued with the love of free institutions, educated by his father for the service of his country, and early led by WASHINGTON to its altar, he has stood before the world as one of its eminent statesmen. He has occupied, in turn, almost every place of honor which the country could give him, and for more than half a century, has been thus identified with its history. * * * * *

"It is believed to have been the earnest wish of his heart to die, like Chatham, in the midst of his labors. It was a sublime thought, that where he had toiled in the house of the nation, in hours of the day devoted to its service, the stroke of death should reach him, and there sever the ties of love and patriotism which bound him to earth. He fell in his seat, attacked by paralysis, of which he had before been a subject. To describe the scene which ensued would be impossible. It was more than the spontaneous gush of feeling which all such events call forth, so much to the honor of our nature. It was the expression of reverence for his moral worth, of admiration for his great intellectual endowments, and of veneration for his age and public services. All gathered round the sufferer, and the strong sympathy and deep feeling which were manifested, showed that the business of the House (which was instantly adjourned) was forgotten amid the distressing anxieties of the moment. He was soon removed to the apartment of the Speaker, where he remained surrounded by afflicted friends till the twenty-fifth, when he passed to immortal [illegible] 'This is the end of earth,' [illegible] emphatic words. [illegible] the last utterance by the [illegible] Christian [illegible]

[illegible]

Senator, (Mr. Webster,) is not heard [illegible]
A domestic calamity, known to us all, [illegible]
him to the chamber of private grief, [illegible]
with the public manifestations of a [illegible]
tional loss inspires. In the absence of [illegible]
member of this body longest here, it is [illegible]
in me to second the motion which has been [illegible]
last honors of the Senate to him who, forty-five [illegible]
member of this body, who, at the time of his [illegible]
oldest members of the House of Representatives [illegible]
the years of his service together, was the oldest [illegible]
of the American Government.

"The eulogium of Mr. Adams is made in the [illegible]
which the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. [illegible])
ingly stated, that, from early manhood to [illegible]
been constantly and most honorably employed in the [illegible]
For a period of more than fifty years, from the [illegible]
pointment as Minister abroad under Washington [illegible]
to the House of Representatives by the people of his native [illegible]
he has been constantly retained in the public service [illegible]
by the favor of a Sovereign, or by hereditary [illegible]
tions and appointments of republican Governments [illegible]
the eulogy of the illustrious deceased. For what [illegible]
of all the qualities which command the [illegible]
man, could have ensured a public service [illegible]
free and popular, and from sources so [illegible]
ter many times abroad; member of this body [illegible]
of Representatives; cabinet Minister; President [illegible]
States; such has been the galaxy of his [illegible]
And what but moral excellence the most [illegible]
ity the most eminent—fidelity the most [illegible]
most useful, could have commanded such [illegible]
ments so exalted, and from sources so [illegible]
Nothing less could have commanded such [illegible]
and accordingly we see the union of all these [illegible]
who has received them.

"In this long career of public service [illegible]
guished not only by faithful attention [illegible]
stations, but to all their less and [illegible]

Salaminian galley, to be launched only on extraordinary occasions, but he was the ready vessel, always launched when the duties of his station required it, be the occasion great or small. As President, as cabinet Minister, as Minister abroad, he examined all questions that came before him, and examined all in all their parts, in all the minutiæ of their detail, as well as in all the vastness of their comprehension. As Senator, and as a member of the House of Representatives, the obscure committee-room was as much the witness of his laborious application to the drudgery of legislation, as the halls of the two Houses were to the ever ready speech, replete with knowledge, which instructed all hearers, enlightened all subjects, and gave dignity and ornament to debate.

"In the observance of all the proprieties of life, Mr. Adams was a most noble and impressive example. He cultivated the minor as well as the greater virtues. Wherever his presence could give aid and countenance to what was useful and honorable to man, there he was. In the exercises of the school and of the college—in the meritorious meetings of the agricultural, mechanical, and commercial societies—in attendance upon Divine worship—he gave the punctual attendance rarely seen but in those who are free from the weight of public cares.

"Punctual to every duty, death found him at the post of duty; and where else could it have found him, at any stage of his career, for the fifty years of his illustrious public life? From the time of his first appointment by Washington to his last election by the people of his native town, where could death have found him but at the post of duty? At that post, in the fullness of age, in the [illegible] crowned with honors, [illegible] by his family, [illegible] and children, and in the very exercises of the national [illegible], he has been gathered to his fathers, leaving behind [illegible] place, [illegible] which [illegible] of his [illegible] [illegible]

"Resolved, That the Senate [illegible] the message from the House of [illegible] death of the Hon. JOHN QUINCY [illegible] State of Massachusetts.

"Resolved, That, in token of [illegible] deceased, the Senate will attend his [illegible] by the House of Representatives, and [illegible] of mourning for thirty days.

"Resolved, That, as a further [illegible] of the deceased, the Senate do now [illegible] time appointed for the funeral."

President Polk issued a [illegible] to the nation its bereavement, [illegible] pension of all public business for [illegible] offices were clothed in mourning. [illegible] from the War and Navy [illegible] at every military and naval [illegible] the order should be received, [illegible] the illustrious dead should be [illegible]

At 12 o'clock on Saturday, [illegible] the funeral took place in the [illegible] an imposing scene. The Hall of [illegible] hung in sable habiliments. [illegible] ton and La Fayette, the [illegible] of History in the car of Time, [illegible] of the deceased, were [illegible] midst, and the most conspicuous [illegible] containing the remains of the [illegible] with its velvet pall. The [illegible] States, and the Heads of [illegible] of both Houses of Congress, [illegible]

Court, the Foreign Ministers, Officers of the Army and Navy, Members of State Legislatures, and an immense concourse of the great, the wise, and the good, were present, to bestow honor on all that remained of the statesman, the philosopher, and the Christian.

A discourse was delivered on the occasion, by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, chaplain to the House of Representatives, from Job xi. 17, 18—"And thine age shall be clearer than the noon-day; thou shalt shine forth, thou shalt be as the morning: and thou shalt be secure, because there is hope." The following are extracts from the sermon:—

"In some circumstances, on some occasions, we most naturally express our emotions in silence and in tears. What voice of man can add to the impressiveness and solemnity of this scene? The presence and aspect of this vast assembly, the Chief Magistrate, Counsellors, Judges, Senators, and Representatives of the nation, distinguished officers of the army and the navy, and the honored Ambassadors from foreign powers,—these symbols and badges of a universal mourning, darkening this hall into sympathy with our sorrow, leave no place for the question, 'Know ye not that a prince and a great man is fallen in Israel?' Near to us, indeed, has come the invisible hand of the Almighty,—that hand in which is the soul of every living thing, and the breath of all mankind; in this very hall, from yonder seat, which he so long occupied, in the midst of the representatives of the people, has it taken one full of years and honors, [illegible] for more than half a century in various departments of the [illegible] the highest, by his [illegible]

divine truths, by habits of obedience [illegible] submission to the order and discipline [illegible] let us ever distrust the Father of our [illegible] all the wants of our nature, but rest [illegible] ments in the sacred Scriptures are [illegible] crees of his providence; and that [illegible] commandments is the whole duty [illegible] comprehending all others), so will it prove the [illegible] happiness of man. If the indissoluble [illegible] between the laws of nature, of Providence [illegible] not always obvious, it is always certain. Over all the darkness, disturbances, and evils of the world shines [illegible] clearly, like the serene and cheerful [illegible] binding virtue, however obscure, persecuted, or [illegible] ward; duty, however humble or arduous, [illegible] declaration, that all things shall work together [illegible] love God, and that all things are theirs—the past and future, [illegible] temporal and spiritual, prosperity and adversity, [illegible] palities, and powers, and God himself, [illegible] wisdom and all the eternity of his reign [illegible]

"How shone out, clear as the morning [illegible] the morning, even in age, in the life and [illegible] venerable man, around whose presence [illegible] we all press in gratitude, admiration, [illegible] derived from faith in God, and [illegible] bereaved Congress, and, I may add, [illegible]

"Truly emblematic of his moral [illegible] acter would be the granite column [illegible] entire, just in its proportions, towering [illegible] its foundations, and pointing to Heaven [illegible] everlasting authority, the final refuge [illegible] regenerated and faithful souls.

"Independence of mere human [illegible] on all subjects, was united with [illegible] found for the sacred Scriptures [illegible] God, 'whose prerogative extends not [illegible] will of man,' and from a daily [illegible] constant and devout attendance [illegible] Sabbath, although [illegible]

he cherished enlarged views of Christian communion, and recognized in most, if not all the religious denominations of this country, members of one and the same family and kingdom of Jesus Christ. * * * * * * *

"Alas, the sad and appalling ruins of death! 'This is the end of earth.' Approach! lovers of pleasure, seekers after wisdom, aspirants, by pre-eminence in station, and power, and influence among men, to fame; see the end of human distinctions and earthly greatness! Surely man walketh in a vain show; surely man in his best estate is altogether vanity. How pertinent to this scene the words of Job: 'He leadeth princes away spoiled, and overthroweth the mighty. He removeth away the speech of the trusty, and taketh away the understanding of the aged. He discovereth deep things out of darkness, and bringeth out to light the shadow of death!' How, indeed, is the mighty fallen, and the head of the wise laid low! All flesh is grass—all the glory of man as the flower of the field. And shall this vast congregation soon be brought to the grave—that house appointed for all the living? Hear, then, the great announcement of the Son of God: 'I am the resurrection and the life, and whosoever believeth in me, though he were dead yet shall he live, and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.' Is it strange that he who communed so much with the future as the great statesman to whose virtues and memory we now pay this sad, final, solemn tribute of honor and affection, should, in the last conversation I ever had with him, have expressed both regret and astonishment at the indifference among too many of our public men to the truths and ordinances of our holy religion? Is it to reflect on our hearts that he has been permitted to fall, in the night of us to arouse us from this insensibility, and [illegible] towards the gates of the eternal city of God? Let us [illegible] for another great example to shine upon us, that another [illegible] is planted [illegible]

[illegible] down, and while at his post of duty, he [illegible]

ground, where they were to [illegible] for their removal to Quincy [illegible]

"Sad was the pomp that yesterday [illegible]
As with the mourner's heart the [illegible]
The rich-plumed canopy, the [illegible]
The sacred march, and sable [illegible]
These were not rites of [illegible]
But hallowed as the types of [illegible]
Illustrious deceased! a NATION'S [illegible]
A NATION'S HEART, went with [illegible]

The following letter of thanks from [illegible], addressed to the Speaker, was laid before the House of Representatives:—

"[illegible]

"SIR: The resolutions in honor of my [illegible], passed by the illustrious assembly over which you [illegible] which he at the moment of his death was [illegible] communicated to me.

"Penetrated with grief at this [illegible] mourning the loss of one who has been [illegible] my support through the trials of [illegible] theless to express through you my [illegible] manner in which the public regard [illegible] fested by your honorable body, and [illegible] and mine from the reflection that [illegible] public servant have not even in this [illegible] ward in the generous appreciation of [illegible]

"With great respect, I remain, [illegible]

"[illegible]

On the following week, the [illegible] each State and Territory in [illegible] the House of Representatives [illegible]

remains of the deceased ex-President, and convey them to Quincy for final interment, commenced their journey. It was a new, yet inexpressibly thrilling and imposing spectacle. The dead body of "the Old Man Eloquent," surrounded and guarded by a son of each of the States and Territories of that Union which he had so largely assisted in consolidating and sustaining, leaves the capitol of the nation, where for more than thirty years he had acted the most conspicuous part among the fathers of the land, to rest in the tomb of its ancestors, amid the venerable shades of Quincy. How solemn the progress of such a procession. It was indeed, "the Funeral March of the Dead!" Wherever it passed, the people rose up and paid the utmost marks of respect to the remains of one who had occupied so large a space in the history of his country. In towns, in villages, in cities, as the mournful cortege swept through, business was suspended, flags were displayed at half mast, bells were tolled, minute guns were fired, civil and military processions received the sacred remains, and watched over them by night and by day, and passed them on from State to State.

What a progress was it which the dead patriot [illegible] From the capitol of the nation, beneath [illegible] and while at his post of duty, he was [illegible]

employed the extraordinary capacity of the national Adams—through cities that in his life time had grown up from villages—passing, at Baltimore, almost beneath the shadow of the monument which their children of the valor of those who fell for country in the war of 1812—and in Philadelphia halting and repeating within the hall where his great father, John Adams, had fearlessly stood for Independence, and where independence was proclaimed—the dead passed on, everywhere followed by the reverential gaze and the mourning heart, till, reaching the great metropolis of New York, where the same father had been sworn in and taken his seat, as the first Vice President of the United States, with George Washington for President! There [illegible] march was resumed, till it reached old Faneuil Hall, the cradle of American liberty, the fitting [illegible] place, while yet unburied, of the body of one [illegible] heart, at no moment of life, did the love of [illegible] bibed or strengthened in that hall, [illegible] abatement."*

Faneuil Hall was clothed in the [illegible] mourning, fitting to receive the body [illegible] greatest of the many noble sons of [illegible] State. Amid solemn dirges and [illegible] monies, the chairman of the Congressional [illegible] surrendered to a Committee from the [illegible] Massachusetts, the sacred remains [illegible] panied from the capitol of the [illegible]

* King's Eulogy.

"Throughout the journey," said the chairman, "there have been displayed manifestations of the highest admiration and respect for the memory of your late distinguished fellow-citizen. In the large cities through which we expected to pass, we anticipated such demonstrations; but in every village and hamlet, at the humblest cottage which we passed, and from the laborers in the field, the same profound respect was testified by their uncovered heads."

The Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature having thus received the body from its Congressional escort, in turn surrendered it to the keeping of the municipal authorities of Boston, for burial at Quincy. This ceremony was performed by Mr. Buckingham, chairman of the Legislative Committee, in these impressive words:—

"In the name and behalf of the Government and People of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, whose honored but humble servant I this day am, I consign to your faithful keeping, Mr. Mayor, the remains of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—all that was mortal of that venerable man, whose age and whose virtues had rendered him an object of intense interest and admiration to his country and to the world. We place these sacred remains in your possession, to be conveyed to their appointed home—to sleep in the sepulchre and with the dust of his fathers."

Mr. Quincy, the Mayor, in accepting the guardianship conferred upon him in behalf of the city of Boston, replied in the following [illegible]

signer of the Declaration of Independence, [illegible] the thunder of the great struggle for liberty [illegible], after a life of unparalleled usefulness and [illegible] the capitol of the country he served. His remains were [illegible] by delegates from every State in the Union. [illegible] spots ever memorable in history. They have, [illegible], been received with funeral honors. They have reposed in the hall of Independence. They now lie in the cradle of liberty. As a citizen of Massachusetts, I cannot but acknowledge our sense of the honors paid to her distinguished son. Mourned by a nation at its capitol, attended by the representatives of millions to the grave, he has received a tribute to his memory unequalled [illegible].

"These remains now rest in the cradle of liberty. It is their last resting-place on their journey home. As a [illegible], this is to them the last of earth!' To-morrow they will be deposited in the peaceful church-yard of the village [illegible] to be mourned, not as statesmen mourn for statesmen, but as friends mourn for friends.

"He will be 'gathered to his fathers!' And what, [illegible], in this case, is the significance of the expression? It [illegible] other men may be attended as he will be to the grave, [illegible] shall the tomb of a President of the United States open [illegible] to receive a son who has filled the same [illegible]."

On the following day, the body [illegible] the municipal officers of Boston, [illegible] Quincy. In the Unitarian [illegible] old neighbors and friends, the [illegible] were held, and the last sad [illegible] formed.

By the side of the grave [illegible] shadowed by aged trees, which [illegible] in the days of boyhood, [illegible] under his own direction, and [illegible] name, sleep the ashes of [illegible]

"Let no weak drops
Be shed for him. The virgin in her bloom
Cut off, the joyous youth, and darling child,
These are the tombs that claim the *tender* tear
And elegiac songs. But Adams calls
For other notes of gratulation high;
That now he wanders thro' those endless worlds
He here so well descried; and, wondering, talks
And hymns their Author with his glad compeers.
Columbia's boast! whether with angels thou
Sittest in dread discourse, or fellow blest
Who joy to see the honor of their kind;
Or whether, mounted on cherubic wing,
Thy swift career is with the whirling orbs,
Comparing things with things, in rapture lost,
And grateful adoration for that light
So plenteous ray'd into thy mind below
From Light himself—oh! look with pity down
On human kind, a frail, erroneous race!
Exalt the spirit of a downward world!
O'er thy dejected country chief preside,
And be her Genius called! her studies raise,
Correct her manners, and inspire her youth;
For, though deprav'd and sunk, she brought thee forth,
And glories in thy name. She points thee out
To all her sons, and bids them eye thy star—
Thy star, which, followed steadfastly, shall lead
To wisdom, virtue, glory here, and joy
Unspeakable in worlds to come."

EULOGY.*

We are in the midst of extraordinary events. British-American Civilization and Spanish-American Society have come into collision, each in its fullest maturity. The armies of the North have penetrated the chapparels at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma—passed the fortresses of Monterey, and rolled back upon the heart of Mexico the unavailing tide of strong resistance from the mountain-side of Buena Vista. Martial colonists are encamped on the coasts of California, while San Juan d'Ulloa has fallen, and the invaders have swept the gorge of Cerro Gordo—carried Perote and Puebla, and planted the banner of burning stars and ever-multiplying stripes on the towers of the city of the Aztecs.

The thirtieth Congress assembles in this conjuncture, and the debates are solemn, earnest, and bewildering. Interest, passion, conscience, freedom, and humanity, all have their advocates. Shall new loans [illegible] and men be granted to prosecute still further a war [illegible]

content with the humiliation of the foe? or shall we complete his subjugation? Would that severity be magnanimous, or even just? Nay, is the war itself just? Who provoked, and by what unpardonable offence, this disastrous strife between two eminent Republics, so scandalous to Democratic Institutions? Where shall we trace anew the ever-advancing line of our empire? Shall it be drawn on the shore of the Rio Grande, or on the summit of the Sierra Madre? or shall Mexican Independence be extinguished, and our eagle close his adventurous pinions only when he looks off upon the waves that separate us from the Indies? Does Freedom own and accept our [illegible] oblations of blood, or does she reject the [illegible]? Will these conquests extend her domains, [illegible] be usurped by ever-grasping slavery? [illegible] will this new-born ambition have [illegible]? Will it leave us the virtue to continue [illegible] social progress? How shall we govern [illegible] people? Shall we incorporate them [illegible] with ourselves, or rule them with [illegible] consular power? Can we preserve [illegible] hostile possessions in any way, with[illegible] own blood-bought heritage of freedom?

Steam and lightning, which [illegible] messengers, make the American [illegible] high debate, and anxiety, and [illegible] universal, absorb them all. [illegible] dissolved. [illegible]

thrown its pall over the land. What new event is this? Has some Cromwell closed the legislative chambers? or has some Cæsar, returning from his distant conquests, passed the Rubicon, seized the purple, and fallen in the Senate beneath the swords of self-appointed executioners of his country's vengeance? No! nothing of all this. What means, then, this abrupt and fearful silence? What unlooked for calamity has quelled the debates of the Senate and calmed the excitement of the people? An old man, whose tongue once indeed was eloquent, but now through age had well nigh lost its cunning, has fallen into the swoon of death. He was not an actor in the drama of conquest—nor had his feeble voice yet mingled in the lofty argument—

> "A grey-haired sire, whose eye intent
> Was on the visioned future bent."

And now he has dreamed out at last the troubled dream of life. Sighs of unavailing grief ascend to Heaven. Panegyric, fluent in long-stifled praise, performs its office. The army and the navy pay conventional honors, with the pomp of national woe, and then the [illegible] onward. [illegible]

cipalities and powers, and [illegible] and worn without reproach, the honors of the [illegible].

From that scene, so impressive in itself, and impressive because it never before happened, and can never happen again, we have come up to this place surrounded with the decent drapery of public mourning, on a day set apart by authority, to recite the history of the citizen, who, in the ripeness of [illegible] of honors, has thus descended to his rest. [illegible] to do so, because it is by such exercises that [illegible] regenerate their early virtues and renew their [illegible] tions. All nations must perpetually [illegible] their virtues and their constitutions, or perish. [illegible] there more need to renovate ours than now, [illegible] seem to be passing from the safe old [illegible] and moderation into a career of conquest [illegible] renown. Never was the duty of [illegible] institutions in all their purity, more obvious [illegible] now, when they have become [illegible] what seems to be a general dissolution [illegible] social systems.

The history of JOHN QUINCY [illegible] opens no new truth in the philosophy [illegible] there is no undiscovered truth in [illegible] it is a history that sheds [illegible] maxims which all mankind know, [illegible] to undervalue and forget. The [illegible] before us was formed by the [illegible] courage, assiduity, and [illegible]

ditions, with native talent and genius, and illustrates the truth, that in morals as in nature, simplicity is the chief element of the sublime.

John Quincy Adams was fortunate in his lineage; in the period, and in the place of his nativity; in all the circumstances of education; in the age and country in which he lived; in the incidents, as well as the occasions of his public service; and in the period and manner of his death. He was a descendant from one of the Puritan planters of Massachusetts, and a son of the most intrepid actor in the Revolution of Independence. Quincy, the place of his birth, is a plain, bounded on the west by towering granite hills, and swept without defence by every wind from the ocean. Its soil in ancient times was as sterile as its climate is always rigorous.

Born on the eleventh day of July, 1767, in the hour of the agitation of rebellion, and reared within sight and sound of gathering war, the earliest political ideas he received were such as John Adams then uttered—"We must fight." "Sink or swim—live or die—survive or perish with my country, is my unalterable determination." A mother fervently pious, and eminent in intellectual gifts, directed with more than maternal [illegible] the education of [illegible] who was [illegible]

ican State, and often the daily [illegible] of Franklin and Jefferson; and combined travel [illegible] Spain, England, Holland, Denmark, [illegible] Prussia, and even diplomatic experience, with the [illegible] of the schools of Paris, of the University at [illegible], and of Harvard University at Cambridge, and all these influences fell upon him at a period when his country, then opening the way to [illegible] through trials of fire, fixed the attention of [illegible].

The establishment of the Republic of the United States of America, is the most important [illegible] in the history of the human race. It [illegible] tangle the confused theory of the origin of [illegible] ment, but cut through the bonds of [illegible] prescription, at a blow; and thus [illegible] diately affected the opinions and the actions of [illegible] every part of the civilized world. It [illegible] everywhere to seek freedom from despotism [illegible] aristocratic restraint. Whenever and [illegible] have since moved, either by peaceful [illegible] physical force, to meliorate systems [illegible] whether in France at the close of the [illegible] afterward on the second subversion of [illegible] of the Bourbons, or in the recent [illegible] constitutional king, or in Ireland, or [illegible] Italy, or in Greece, or in South America [illegible] succeeded or failed, there, in the [illegible] was the spirit of the American [illegible] an example of a great people, not [illegible]

themselves, but governing themselves, without either a monarch to control, or an aristocracy to restrain them; and it demonstrated, for the first time in the history of the world, contrary to the predictions and theories of speculative philosophy, that a great nation, when duly prepared, is capable of self-government by purely republican institutions."

But the establishment of the American Republic was too great an achievement to be made all at once. It was a drama of five grand acts, each of which filled a considerable period, and called upon the stage actors of peculiar powers and distinguished virtues. Those acts were, colonization, preparation, revolution, organization, consolidation.

Two of these acts were closed before John Quincy Adams was born. The third, the revolution, the shortest of them all, dazzles the contemplation by the rapidity and the martial character of its incidents. The fourth, the organization of the Government, by the splendors of genius elicited, and the felicity of the new form of government presented, satisfies the superficial inquirer that, when the Constitution had been adopted, nothing remained to perfect the great achievement. But other nations have had successful revolutions, and have set up free constitutions, and have yet [illegible] the [illegible] despotism. The [illegible]

continually in public affairs, and ultimately become the principal actor.

The new Government was purely an experiment. In opposition to the fixed habits of mankind, it established suffrage practically universal, and representation so perfect that not one Legislative House only, but both Houses; not legislative officers only, but all officers, executive, ministerial, and even judicial, were directly or indirectly elected by the people. The longest term of the senatorial trust was but six years, and the shortest only two, and even the tenure of the executive power was only four years. This Government, betraying so much popular jealousy, was formed with only special and limited sovereignty; [illegible] of merely municipal affairs was distributed among the States, among Governments even more [illegible] the federal structure, and without which [illegible] support that structure must fall.

The Government thus constituted, [illegible] plex and artificial, was to be consolidated [illegible] of difficulties at home, and of dangers [illegible] constitution had been adopted only [illegible] of absolute necessity, and with [illegible] of compromise. By nearly half of [illegible] thought too feeble to sustain itself [illegible] rights for which governments [illegible] men. By as many it was thought [illegible] into an over-shadowing despotism, [illegible] and more odious than the [illegible]

subverted. These conflicting opinions revealed themselves in like discordance upon every important question of administration, and were made the basis of parties, which soon became jealous and irreconcilable, and ultimately inveterate, and even in some degree disloyal.

These domestic feuds were aggravated by pernicious influences from Europe. In the progress of western civilization, the nations of the earth had become social. The new Republic could not, like the Celestial Empire, or that of Japan, confine itself within its own boundaries, and exist without national intercourse. It had entered the family of nations. But the position it was to assume, and the advantages it was to be allowed to enjoy, were yet to be ascertained and fixed. Its independence, confessed to be only a doubtful experiment at home, was naturally thought ephemeral in Europe. Its example was ominous, and the European Powers willingly believed that, if discountenanced and baffled, America would soon relapse into colonial subjugation. Such prejudices were founded in the fixed habits of society. Not only the thirteen colonies, but the whole American hemisphere, had been governed by European [illegible] from the period of its discovery. The very soil belonged to the trans-atlantic monarchs by [illegible] [illegible] It [illegible]

new world was indeed [illegible] powers, but the system of government [illegible]. It was administered for the benefit of the parental State alone. Each power prohibited all foreign trade with its Colonies, and all intercourse between them and other plantations, supplied its Colonies with what they needed from abroad, interdicted their manufactures, and monopolized their trade. The prevalence of this system over the whole continent of America and the adjacent islands prevented all enterprise, discouraged all improvement, and retarded their progress to independence.

The American Revolution sundered [illegible] so far as they confined thirteen of the [illegible] and left the remaining British dominions, [illegible] tinent, from Georgia around Cape [illegible] Ocean, under the same thraldom as before. [illegible] United States had attained only physical [illegible] The moral influences of the colonial [illegible] them still. Their trade, their laws, [illegible] literature, their social connections, [illegible] relations, their manners and their [illegible] colonial; and their thoughts [illegible] the ancient and majestic States of [illegible] tinent.

The American Revolution, [illegible] broke out in France simultaneously [illegible] of Washington's administration. [illegible] passed in fifteen years from [illegible]

Louis XVI., through all the phases of democracy to a military despotism under Napoleon Bonaparte; and retained, through all these changes, only two characteristics—unceasing ferocity of faction, and increasing violence of aggression against foreign States. The scandal of the French Revolution fell back upon the United States of America, who were regarded as the first disturbers of the ancient social system. The principal European monarchs combined, under the guidance of England, to arrest the presumptuous career of France and extirpate democracy by the sword. Nevertheless, the republican cause, however odious in Europe, was our national cause. The sympathies of a large portion of the American people could not be withdrawn from the French nation, which always claimed, even when marshalled into legions under the Corsican conqueror, to be fighting the battles of freedom; while, on the other side, the citizens who regarded innovation as worse than tyranny, considered England and her allies as engaged in sustaining the cause of order, of government, and of society itself.

The line already drawn between the American people in regard to their organic law, naturally became the dividing line of the popular sympathies in the great European conflict. Thus deeply furrowed, that line [illegible] a great and fixed." The Federal party [illegible]

sincerity it denied the gross imputation. Each belligerent was thus encouraged to hope for aid from the United States, through the ever-expected triumph of its friends; while both conceived contemptuous opinions of a people who, from too eager interest in a foreign fray, suffered their own national rights to be trampled upon with impunity by the contending States.

Washington set the new machine of government in motion. He formed his cabinet of recognized leaders of the adverse parties. Hamilton and Knox of the Federal party were balanced by Jefferson and Randolph of the adverse party. "Washington took part with neither, but held the balance between them with the scrupulous justice which marked his [illegible]. On the 25th of April, 1793, he announced [illegible] of the United States between the bel[illegible] decision, without winning the respect [illegible] perated both. Each invaded our national [illegible] flagrantly than before, and excused [illegible] the plea of necessary retaliation against [illegible] and each found willing apologists in [illegible] faction in our own country.

Commercial and political relations [illegible] lished between the United States [illegible] Powers in this season of conflict [illegible] needed who could maintain and [illegible] same impartiality practised by [illegible] There was one citizen eminently [illegible]

trust in such a conjuncture. Need I say that citizen was the younger Adams, and that Washington had the sagacity to discover him?

John Quincy Adams successively completed missions at the Hague and at Berlin, in the period intervening between 1794 and 1801, with such advantage and success, that in 1802 he was honored by his native commonwealth with a seat as her representative in the Senate of the United States. The insults offered to our country by the belligerents increased in aggravation as the contest between them became more violent and convulsive. France, in 1804, laid aside even the name and forms of a Republic, and the first consul, dropping the emblems of popular power, placed the long-coveted diadem upon his brow, where its jewels sparkled among the laurels he had won in the conquest of Italy. Washington's administration had passed away, leaving the American people in sullen discontent. John Adams had succeeded, and had atoned by the loss of power for the offence he had given by causing a just but unavailing war to be declared against France. Jefferson was at the head of the Government; he thought the belligerents might be reduced to forbearance by depriving them of our commercial contributions of supplies, and recommended first an embargo, and then non-intercourse. Britain [illegible]

they were more severe on [illegible] either of the offenders.

Massachusetts was the chief [illegible] in the Union. She saw the ruin [illegible] involved in the policy of Jefferson [illegible] an unworthy concession to the [illegible] throne. In this emergency John Quincy [illegible] his back on Massachusetts, and threw [illegible] scale of the administration, the weight of his talents and of his already eminent fame. [illegible] structed the recusant to recant. He [illegible] and resigned his place. His change of [illegible] tions astounded the country, and, with the [illegible] charity of partisan zeal, was attributed [illegible] is now seen by us in the light reflected [illegible] habitual independence, unquestioned [illegible] patriotism of his whole life; and [illegible] only the first marked one of many [illegible] he broke the green withes which [illegible] him, and maintained the cause of [illegible] the care of his fame to God and to [illegible] terity. Like Decimus Brutus, [illegible] saluted among his executioners with [illegible] "*Et tu, Brute!*" John Quincy Adams [illegible] ful, but he could not be obliged [illegible] free.

Jefferson retired in 1809, [illegible] the scholastic and pedantic [illegible] legacy of perplexed foreign [illegible]

domestic feuds. Great Britain now filled the measure of exasperation by insolently searching our vessels on the high seas, and impressing into her marine all whom she chose to suspect of having been born in her allegiance, even though they had renounced it and had assumed the relations of American citizens. War was therefore imminent and inevitable. Russia was then coming forward to a position of commanding influence in Europe, and her youthful Emperor Alexander had won, by his chivalrous bearing, the respect of mankind. John Quincy Adams was wisely sent by the United States, to establish relations of amity with the great power of the North; and while he was thus engaged, the flames of European war, which had been so long averted, involved his own country. War was declared against Great Britain.

It was just. It was necessary. Yet it was a war that dared Great Britain to re-assert her ancient sovereignty. It was a war with a power whose wealth and credit were practically inexhaustible, a power whose navy rode unchecked over all the seas, and whose impregnable garrisons encircled the globe.

Against such a power the war was waged by a nation that had not yet accumulated wealth, nor established credit, nor even opened avenues [illegible] for transporting armies or war through its [illegible] [illegible]

nounced as unnecessary and [illegible] for no better reason than because greater [illegible] had been endured at the hands of France. [illegible] domestic feud, based on the very question of the war itself, enervated the national strength, and encouraged the mighty adversary.

The desperate valor displayed at Chippewa and Lundy's Lane, at Fort Erie and Plattsburgh, and the brilliant victories won in contests between single ships of war on the ocean and armed fleets on the lakes, vindicated the military prowess of the United States, but brought us no decisive advantage. A [illegible] of the conflict in Europe followed Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia, and left America [illegible] posed to her great adversary. Peace was [illegible] because the national credit was exhausted, [illegible] the fortunes of the war were inclining against [illegible] because the opposition to it was rife [illegible] izing councils. Adams had prepared the [illegible] securing the mediation of Alexander. [illegible] critical period, associated with Russell, [illegible] learned and versatile Gallatin, and the [illegible] chivalric Clay, he negotiated with [illegible] duity, with patience, and with [illegible] definitive treaty of peace—a treaty [illegible] although it omitted the causes of the [illegible] solete, saved and established and [illegible] integrity the independence of the [illegible]

of peace that yet endures, and, we willingly hope, may endure forever.

After fulfilling a subsequent mission at the Court of St. James, the pacificator entered the domestic service of the country as Secretary of State in the administration of James Monroe; and at the expiration of that administration became President of the United States. He attained the honors of the Republic at the age of fifty-seven, in the forty-ninth year of independence. He was sixth in the succession, and with him closed the line of Chief Magistrates who had rendered to their country some tribute of their talents in civil or military service in the war of independence.

John Quincy Adams, on entering civil life, had found the Republic unstable. He retired in 1829, leaving it firmly established. It was thus his happy fortune to preside at the completion of that work of consolidation the beginning of which was the end of the labors of Washington.

John Quincy Adams engaged in this great work while yet in private life, in 1793. He showed to his fellow-citizens, in a series of essays, the inability of the French people to maintain free institutions at that time, and the consequent necessity of American neutrality in the European war. These publications aided Washington so much the more because they [illegible]

Great Britain. His diplomatic [illegible] and Russia secured, at a critical period, a [illegible] consideration in the Courts of those [illegible] conduced to the same end; and his [illegible] in restoring peace to the country so [illegible], relieved her from her enemies, reassured her, and gave to sceptical Europe conclusive proof that her republican institutions were destined to endure.

The administration of John Quincy [illegible] so intimately with that of Monroe, in which he was chief Minister, that no dividing line can be drawn between them. Adams may be said, without [illegible] tion from the fame of Monroe, to have [illegible] Government during his presidency; and with equal truth, Monroe may be admitted to have [illegible] administration through that of his successor.

The consolidation of the Republic required [illegible] tion should be extinguished. Monroe [illegible] cult task cautiously, and pursued it with [illegible] John Quincy Adams completed the [illegible] dignity and moderation which [illegible] of the highest trust which a free [illegible] beautifully foreshadowed the [illegible] it was to be discharged. He [illegible] sensible of the circumstances [illegible] conferred:—

All my predecessors (he said) [illegible] of the electoral voices, in the primary [illegible] fortune to be placed, by the [illegible]

our countrymen, on this occasion, in competition, friendly and honorable, with three of my fellow-citizens, all justly enjoying, in eminent degrees, the public favor; and of whose worth, talents and services, no one entertains a higher and more respectful sense than myself. The names of two of them were, in the fulfilment of the provisions of the constitution, presented to the selection of the House of Representatives, in concurrence with my own, names closely associated with the glory of the nation, and one of them farther recommended by a larger majority of the primary electoral suffrages than mine. In this state of things, could my refusal to accept the trust thus delegated to me give an opportunity to the people to form and to express, with a nearer approach to unanimity, the object of their preference, I should not hesitate to decline the acceptance of this eminent charge, and to submit the decision of this momentous question again to their determination.

It argued a noble consciousness of virtue to express, on such an occasion, so ingenuously, the emotions of a generous ambition.

He displayed the same great quality no less when he called to the post of chief Minister, in spite of clamors of corruption, Henry Clay, that one of his late rivals who alone among his countrymen had the talents and generosity which the responsibilities of the period exacted.

John Quincy Adams signalized his accession to the post of dangerous elevation by avowing the sentiments concerning parties by which he was inflexibly governed [illegible]

required a liberal indulgence for a nation [illegible] and error. The revolutionary wars of Europe [illegible] at the moment when the Government of the [illegible] into operation under the constitution, [illegible] ments, and of sympathies, which kindled all the passions and embittered the conflict of parties, till the nation was involved in war, and the Union was shaken to its centre. This [illegible] braced a period of five-and-twenty years, during which the policy of the Union in its relations with Europe constituted the principal basis of our own political divisions, and the most [illegible] act of action of the Federal Government. With the catastrophe in which the wars of the French Revolution terminated, and [illegible] quent peace with Great Britain, this baneful seed of [illegible] was uprooted. From that time no difference of principle [illegible] with the theory of government, or with our international [illegible] eign nations, has existed or been called forth in [illegible] sufficient to sustain a continued combination of parties, or [illegible] wholesome animation to public sentiment or legislative [illegible] Our political creed, without a dissenting voice [illegible] that the will of the people is the source, and [illegible] people is the end, of all legitimate government [illegible] best security for the beneficence, and the best [illegible] abuse of power, consists in the freedom, [illegible] quency of popular elections. That the General [illegible] Union, and the separate Governments of the States [illegible] ties of legitimate powers; fellow servants of [illegible] uncontrolled within their respective spheres [illegible] croachments on each other. If there have been [illegible] whether a confederated representative democracy [illegible] competent to the wise and orderly [illegible] concerns of a mighty nation, these doubts [illegible] there have been projects of partial confederacies [illegible] the ruins of the Union, they have been [illegible] there have been dangerous attachments [illegible] antipathies against another, they have been [illegible] years of peace at home and abroad have [illegible] of political contention and blended into [illegible] ant elements of public opinion. [illegible] magnanimity, one sacrifice of [illegible]

the individuals throughout the nation who have heretofore followed the standards of political party. It is that of discarding every remnant of rancor against each other, of embracing, as countrymen and friends, and of yielding to talents and virtue alone that confidence which, in times of contention for principle, was bestowed only upon those who bore the badge of party communion.

During the administration of John Quincy Adams, he was really the Chief Magistrate. He submitted neither his reason nor his conscience to the control of any partisan cabal. No man was appointed to office in obedience to political dictation, and no faithful public servant was proscribed. The result rewarded his magnanimity. Faction ceased to exist. When South Carolina, a few years afterward, assumed the very ground that the ancient republican party had indicated as lawful and constitutional, and claimed the right and power to set aside, within her own limits, acts of Congress which she pronounced void, because they transcended the Federal authority, she called on the republican party throughout the Union in vain. The dangerous heresy had been renounced forever. Since that time there has been no serious project of a combination to resist the laws of the Union, much less of a conspiracy to subvert the Union itself.

What though the symptoms of political strife remain? They are necessary for the life of free States. What though [illegible]

Such parties are dangerous only [illegible] but in the vigor of Republics. Rome [illegible] for freedom, and needed a Dictator and a Sovereign, when Pompey and Cæsar divided the citizens. What though the magnanimity of Adams was not appreciated, and his contemporaries preferred his military competitor in the subsequent election? The world [illegible] none but ripe fruits, and the masses of any people will sometimes prefer them to the long maturing harvests which the statesmen of the living generations sow, to be reaped by their successors. For all this Adams [illegible]. He had extinguished the factions which for [illegible] years had endangered the State. He had left to the [illegible] of history instructions and an example [illegible] that faction could be overthrown, and [illegible] resort to them when danger should [illegible] self he knew well, none knew better than [illegible]

"He who ascends to mountain-tops shall find
The loftiest peaks most wrapt in clouds and [illegible]
He who surpasses or subdues mankind,
Must look down on the hate of those below.
Though high *above* the sun of glory glow,
And far *beneath* the earth and [illegible]
Round him are icy rocks, and [illegible]
Contending tempests on his naked head,
And thus reward the toils which to those [illegible]

The federal authority had so [illegible] opposed, that the popular [illegible] to be renewed. The State of [illegible] fit occasion. She insisted on [illegible]

nants of Indian tribes, within her limits, in virtue of a treaty which was impeached for fraud, and came for revision before the Supreme Court and the Senate. The President met the emergency with boldness and decision. The demonstration thus given that good faith should be practised, and the law have its way, no matter how unequal the litigating parties, operated favorably toward restoring the moral influence of the Government. That influence, although sometimes checked, has recently increased in strength, until the federal authority is universally regarded as final, and liberty again walks confidently hand in hand with law.

John Quincy Adams "loved peace and ensued it." He loved peace as a Christian, because war was at enmity with the spirit and precepts of a religion which he held to be divine. As a statesman and magistrate, he loved peace, because war was not merely injurious to national prosperity, but because, whether successful or adverse, it was subversive of liberty. Democracies are prone to war, and war consumes them. He favored, therefore, all the philanthropic efforts of the age to cultivate the spirit of peace, and looked forward with benevolent hope to the ultimate institution of a General Congress of nations for the adjustment of their controversies. But he was no visionary and no enthusiast. He knew that such [illegible]

fensive war—but he did not [illegible] He held *that* to be a defensive war which [illegible] to sustain what could not be [illegible] without compromising the independence, dignity, influence, or even the proper dignity of the State. Thus he had supported the war with Great Britain, which in later years he sustained President Jackson in his bold demonstration against France, when that people [illegible] tonly refused to perform the stipulations [illegible] in a treaty of indemnity; and thus he yielded his support to what was thought a warlike measure of the present administration in the diplomatic controversy with Great Britain concerning the Territory of Oregon. The living and the dead have mutual rights, [illegible] fore it must be added that he considered the [illegible] war with Mexico as unnecessary, [illegible] His opinion on this exciting question [illegible] on which he referred himself as [illegible] he so often constituted the [illegible] his contemporaries.

With such principles on that [illegible] regarded the establishment of [illegible] defence as a necessary policy [illegible] Republic. He presented, [illegible] the work of fortification, and [illegible] opposition the institution for the [illegible] itary science, which has [illegible] early favor through the [illegible] humanity exhibited by its [illegible]

But with that jealousy of the military spirit which never forsakes the wise republican statesman, he co-operated in reducing the army to the lowest scale commensurate with its necessary efficiency:

> It was a vain and dangerous delusion (he said) to believe that in the present or any probable condition of the world, a commerce so extensive as ours could exist without the continual support of a military marine — the only arm by which the power of a confederacy could be estimated or felt by foreign nations, and the only standing force which could never be dangerous to our own liberties.

The enlargement of our navy, under the influence of these opinions, is among the measures of national consolidation we owe to him; and the institution for naval education we enjoy, is a recent result of his early suggestions.

But John Quincy Adams relied for national security and peace mainly on an enlightened and broad system of civil policy. He looked through the future combinations of States, and studied the accidents to which they were exposed, that he might seasonably remove causes of future conflict. His genius, which exercised in this lofty duty, played in its native element. He had cordially approved the measures by which Washington had secured the free navigation of the Mississippi. He approved the acquisition of Louisiana, although with Jefferson, he [illegible]

no local prejudice against their [illegible] tion required by the public security of the [illegible] should be made with justice, honor, and humanity.

The acquisition of Louisiana had only given us additional territory, fruitful in new commerce, to be exposed to dangers which remain to be overcome. Spain still possessed, beside the Island of Cuba, the Peninsulas of the Floridas, and thus held the keys of the [illegible] The real independence, the commercial, and the moral independence, of the United States, remained [illegible] effected at the close of the European wars, and of our own war with England. Our political independence had been confirmed, and that was all. John Quincy Adams addressed himself, as Secretary of State, to the subversion of what remained of the colonial [illegible] He commenced by an auspicious purchase of the Floridas, which gave us important maritime advantages in the Gulf of Mexico, while it continued our [illegible] sea-board unbroken from the Bay of [illegible] to the Sabine.

The ever-advancing American Republic [illegible] the same time opening the way to [illegible] ment. The Spanish-American Re[illegible] and seven new Republics, with [illegible] widely differing from our own, Guatemala, Colombia, Mexico, Chili, Ca[illegible] Peru—suddenly claimed audience [illegible] the nations of the earth. The [illegible] tries were but doubtfully [illegible]

contest for independence, or to support republican institutions. But on the other side Spain was enervated and declining. She applied to the Holy League of Europe for their aid, and the new Republics applied to the United States for that recognition which could not fail to impart strength. The question was momentous. The ancient colonial system was at stake. All Europe was interested in maintaining it. The Holy League held Europe fast bound to the rock of despotism, and were at liberty to engage the United States in a war for the subversion of their independence, if they should dare to extend their aid or protection to the rebellious Colonies in South America.

Such a war would be a war of the two continents—an universal war. Who could foretell its termination, or its dread results? But the emancipation of Spanish America was necessary for our own larger freedom, and our own complete security. That freedom and that security required that the nations of Europe should relax their grasp on the American Continent. The question was long and anxiously debated. The American people hesitated to hazard, for speculative advantages, the measures of independence already obtained. Monroe and Adams waited calmly and firmly. The [illegible] voice of Henry Clay rose from the Chamber of Representatives. It rang through the [illegible]

noble appeal was answered: [illegible] firm, and North America will [illegible] that John Quincy Adams, with [illegible] which the impatient blood of [illegible] always prompted, and with [illegible] which never misapprehended the [illegible] try, nor mistook the time nor the [illegible] obtained from the administration [illegible] the acknowledgment of the [illegible] young American nations. To give [illegible] to this great measure, Monroe, in [illegible] clared to the world, that thenceforth [illegible] any foreign power to establish [illegible] any part of this continent, already [illegible] be resisted as an aggression against the [illegible] the United States. On the accession [illegible] administration of the Government, [illegible] continental possessions of Brazil [illegible] from the crown of Portugal and [illegible] dent State. Adams improved these [illegible] lime events by negotiating treaties [illegible] with the youthful nations; and, [illegible] roe, accepted, in behalf of the [illegible] invitation to a General Congress [illegible] to be held at Panama, to consult [illegible] among themselves, and to consider [illegible] necessary, the proper means to [illegible] interference of the Holy [illegible]

The last measure transcend[illegible]

large and respectable portion of the American people. But its moral effect was needed to secure the stability of the South American Republics. Adams persevered, and, in defending his course, gave notice to the powers of Europe, by this bold declaration, that the determination of the United States was inflexible :—

"If it be asked, whether this meeting, and the principles which may be adjusted and settled by it, as rules of intercourse between American nations, may not give umbrage to European powers, or offence to Spain, it is deemed a sufficient answer, that our attendance at Panama can give no just cause of umbrage or offence to either, and that the United States will stipulate nothing there, which can give such cause. Here the right of inquiry into our purposes and measures must stop. The Holy League of Europe, itself, was formed without inquiring of the United States, whether it would or would not give umbrage to them. The fear of giving umbrage to the Holy League of Europe was urged as a motive for denying to the American nations the acknowledgment of their independence. The Congress and the administration of that day consulted their rights and their duties, not their fears. The United States must still, as heretofore, take counsel from their duties, rather than their fears."

Contrast, fellow-citizens, this declaration of John Quincy Adams, President of the United States in 1825, with the proclamation of neutrality, between the belligerents of Europe, made by Washington in 1793, with the querulous complaints of your Ministers [illegible]

Learn from this contrast, the [illegible] tion of the Republic. Thus [illegible] the statesman and magistrate by [illegible] the meed due to his illustrious [illegible] system was overthrown throughout [illegible] and the independence of the United [illegible] pletely and finally consummated.

The intrepid and unwearied [illegible] his attention to the remnants of [illegible] still preserved in the Canadas and [illegible] Britain, by parliamentary measures [illegible] our manufactures, and, receiving only [illegible] rials, repaid us with fabrics manufactured [illegible] while she excluded us altogether from [illegible] trade with her colonial possessions. [illegible] Adams sought to counteract this [illegible] by a revenue system, which [illegible] facturing industry of the country [illegible] ciprocal trade as a compromise [illegible] ended during a beneficial trial of [illegible] But it taxed too severely the [illegible] States, and was relinquished by [illegible]

Indolence begets degeneracy, [illegible] first stage of dissolution. John [illegible] not merely to consolidate the [illegible] ate it. For this purpose he [illegible] cess, to such a policy of internal [illegible] increase the facilities of [illegible] course between the States [illegible]

great internal trade which must ever constitute the strongest bond of federal union. Wherever a lighthouse has been erected, on our sea-coast, on our lakes, or on our rivers—wherever a mole or pier has been constructed or begun—wherever a channel obstructed by shoals or sawyers has been opened, or begun to be opened—wherever a canal or railroad, adapted to national uses, has been made or projected—there the engineers of the United States, during the administration of John Quincy Adams, made explorations, and opened the way for a diligent prosecution of his designs by his successors. This policy, apparently so stupendous, was connected with a system of fiscal economy so rigorous, that the treasury augmented its stores, while the work of improvement went on; the public debt, contracted in past wars, dissolved away, and the nation flourished in unexampled prosperity. John Quincy Adams administered the Federal Government, while De Witt Clinton was presiding in the State of New York. It is refreshing to recall the noble emulation of these illustrious benefactors—an emulation that [illegible] honorable [illegible] to their [illegible] within [illegible] example.

If [illegible] message to the Congress of the United [illegible]

people would be to hide in the [illegible]
charge, would be treachery to the [illegible]
of improvement is abroad [illegible]
and sharpens the faculties, [illegible]
the nations of Europe, and [illegible]
pleasing satisfaction upon the [illegible]
institutions, let us not be [illegible]
nation blessed with the largest [illegible]
to its numbers be the most powerful [illegible]
tenure of power by man is, in the [illegible]
upon condition that it shall be [illegible]
improve the condition of [illegible]
eign nations, less blessed with [illegible]
ourselves, are advancing with gigantic [illegible]
lic improvement, were we to [illegible]
and proclaim to the world that we [illegible]
constituents, would it not be to [illegible]
dence and doom ourselves to [illegible]
of the year now drawing to its close, [illegible]
auspices, and at the expense of [illegible]
versity unfolding its portals to the [illegible]
the torch of human improvement [illegible]
have seen, under the persevering [illegible]
another State, the waters of [illegible]
of the ocean. If undertakings like [illegible]
in the compass of a few years, by [illegible]
of our confederacy, can we, the [illegible]
whole Union, fall behind our [illegible]
the trust committed to us for the [illegible]
by the accomplishment of [illegible]
which neither the authority nor the [illegible]
be adequate?

The disastrous career of [illegible]
the absolute inaction of [illegible]
of internal improvement [illegible]

federal authorities, and devolved upon the States, without other sources of revenue than direct taxation, and with no other motives to stimulate them than their own local interests, are a fitting commentary on the error of that departure from the policy of John Quincy Adams. If other comment were necessary, it would be found in the fact that States have revised and amended their constitutions, so as to abridge the power of their Legislatures to prosecute the beneficent enterprises which the Federal Government has devolved upon them. The Smithsonian Institute, at the seat of Government, founded by the liberality of a cosmopolite, is that same university so earnestly recommended by Adams for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men. The exploration of the globe, for purposes of geographical and political knowledge, which has so recently been made under the authority of the Union, and with such noble results, was an enterprize conceived and suggested by the same statesman. The National Observatory at the capital, which is piercing the orgeons nearest to the throne of the eternal [illegible] of the universe, [illegible] [illegible] wisdom. [illegible]

[illegible] John Quincy Adams. Surely [illegible] if the ancient [illegible]

and eminent in virtue, and [illegible]
were the greatest and best of [illegible]

But the measure of [illegible]
Republic thought it no longer [illegible]
of Adams, and he bowed to [illegible]
elapsed, and lo! the priest [illegible]
deserted altar, and a brighter, [illegible]
flame arose out of the extinguished [illegible]

> "He looked in years. But in his [illegible]
> A youthful vigor, an autumnal [illegible]

The Republic had been extended [illegible]
but human slavery, which had been [illegible]
was extended and consolidated also, [illegible]
so as to impair the strength of the [illegible]
the hopes of the nations were [illegible]
therefore must be restrained, and, [illegible]
injustice, must be abolished. The [illegible]
moving it had been postponed by [illegible]
Revolution, and had been delayed [illegible]
their successors. There were [illegible]
willing hands to undertake it, [illegible]
enough, and bold enough to lead [illegible]
to hear with enthusiasm that [illegible]
with intolerance that defeated [illegible]
poses? Slaveholders had power [illegible]
power; and strange to say, they [illegible]
consent and sympathy. Who [illegible]
voke them, and bring the [illegible]

down upon his own head? Who would do this, when even abolitionists themselves, rendered implacable by the manifestation of those sentiments of justice and moderation, without which the most humane cause, depending on a change of public opinion, cannot be conducted safely to a prosperous end, were ready to betray their own champion into the hands of the avenger? That leader was found in the person of John Quincy Adams. He took his seat in the House of Representatives in 1831, without assumption or ostentation. Abolitionists placed in his hand petitions for the suppression of slavery in the District of Columbia, the seat of the federal authorities. He offered them to the House of Representatives, and they were rejected with contumely and scorn. Suddenly the alarm went forth, that the aged and venerable servant was retaliating upon his country by instigating a servile war, that such a war must be avoided, even at the cost of sacrificing the freedom of petition and the freedom of debate, and that if the free States would not consent to make that sacrifice, then the Union should be dissolved. This alarm had its desired effect. The House of Representatives, in 1837, adopted a rule of discipline, equivalent to an act, ordaining that no petition [illegible] should be read, [illegible]

habits of thought and action [illegible]
people even in the free States [illegible]
of slavery, and suppressed it [illegible]
Quincy Adams stood unmoved amid the storm. He
knew that the only danger incident to [illegible]
was the danger of delaying it too long. The [illegible]
Revolution had made this an axiom of [illegible]
If, indeed, the discussion of slavery [illegible]
as was pretended, it had been deferred too long [illegible]
The advocates of slavery had committed [illegible]
They had abolished freedom of speech and [illegible]
petition to save an obnoxious institution [illegible]
the panic should subside, the people [illegible]
restoration of those precious rights [illegible]
nize with fearless fidelity the cause for [illegible]
been suppressed. He offered petition [illegible]
each bolder and more importunate than [illegible]
debated questions, kindred to those [illegible]
bidden, with the firmness and fervor of [illegible]
For age [illegible]

> Had not quenched this [illegible]
> And fiery vehemence of [illegible]

Soon he gained upon his adversaries [illegible]
district sent champions to his side. [illegible]
ered, and resolved in his behalf. He [illegible]
turning, and then struck one bold [illegible]
freedom of petition and debate, [illegible]
and retaliating warfare. He [illegible]

claring that the following amendments of the constitution of the United States be submitted to the people of the several States for their adoption :

From and after the fourth day of July, 1842, there shall be, throughout the United States, NO HEREDITARY SLAVERY, but on and after that day every child born within the United States shall be FREE.

With the exception of the Territory of Florida, there shall, henceforth, never be admitted into this Union, any STATE the constitution of which shall tolerate within the same the existence of SLAVERY.

In 1845, the obnoxious rule of the House of Representatives was rescinded. The freedom of debate and petition was restored, and the unrestrained and irrepressible discussion of slavery by the press and political parties began. For the rest, the work of emancipation abides the action, whether it be slow or fast, of the moral sense of the American people. It depends not on the zeal and firmness only of the reformers, but on their wisdom and moderation also. Stoicism, that had no charity for error, never converted any human society to virtue; Christianity, that remembers the true nature of man, has encompassed a large portion of the globe. How long emancipation may be delayed, is among the things [illegible] from our knowledge; but not so the [illegible] in the [illegible] of the enterprise [illegible]

Then the merit of this [illegible] awarded to John Quincy Adams [illegible] gratefully than by the [illegible] tution of slavery has brought the [illegible] ture and consumptive decline [illegible] vigorous, and expanding States.

If this great transaction could [illegible] matic sublimity, it was surpassed [illegible] passioned advocate of humanity [illegible] of seventy-four, with all the glorious [illegible] now clustered upon him, at the [illegible] Court of the United States, and [illegible] tation or reward, the cause of [illegible] Africans, who had been stolen [illegible] from their native coast, had slain the [illegible] of the pirate vessel, floated into [illegible] United States, and there been [illegible] dent, in behalf of the authorities [illegible] this great cause with such happy [illegible] tives were set at liberty. Conveyed by [illegible] the humane to their native shores [illegible] ing intelligence to Africa, that [illegible] claiming its way among civilized [illegible]

The recital of heroic actions [illegible] we cannot discover the principle [illegible] born. The text of John Quincy [illegible] he declared the duties of citizen[illegible] was the address of the Gentleman [illegible] people of the United States [illegible]

successful close of the American Revolution. He dwelt often and emphatically on the words:

Let it be remembered, that it has ever been the pride and the boast of America, that the rights for which she contended were the rights of human nature. By the blessing of the Author of those rights, they have prevailed over all opposition, and form the basis of thirteen independent States. No instance has heretofore occurred, nor can any instance be expected hereafter to occur, in which the unadulterated forms of republican government can pretend to so fair an opportunity of justifying themselves by their fruits. In this view, the citizens of the United States are responsible for the greatest trust ever confided to a political society. If JUSTICE, GOOD FAITH, HONOR, GRATITUDE, and all the other qualities which ennoble the character of a nation and fulfil the ends of government, be the fruits of our establishments, the cause of liberty will acquire a dignity and lustre which it has never yet enjoyed, and an example will be set which cannot but have the most favorable influence on mankind. If, on the other side, our Governments should be unfortunately blotted with the reverse of these cardinal virtues, the great cause which we have engaged to vindicate will be dishonored and betrayed; the last and fairest experiment in favor of the rights of human nature will be turned against them, and their patrons and friends exposed to the insults, and silenced by the votaries of tyranny and usurpation.

Senators and Representatives of the People of the State of New York: I had turned my steps away from your honored halls, long since, as I thought, forever. I come back to plead for your consideration, to fulfil a higher duty and more honorable service than ever before devolved upon me. I supply your [illegible]

of the United States, in [illegible]
James Madison. It is [illegible]
character, and it enables us to [illegible]
conferred upon his country. [illegible]
motive enabled him to rise above [illegible]
binations, prejudices, passions, and [illegible]
that he served his country, not alone, [illegible]
that country was his own, but [illegible]
duties and her destiny, and [illegible]
cause of human nature.

If you inquire why he was so [illegible]
to be often thought austere, I [illegible]
human nature required the [illegible]
and gratitude, by all who were [illegible]
to act in the name of the [illegible]
ask why he seemed, sometimes, [illegible]
sistency, to lend his charities to [illegible]
future rather than to his own [illegible]
reply, it was because he held [illegible]
power is on condition of its being [illegible]
for the common welfare of the [illegible]
are of no country. They belong [illegible]
cannot rise to this height of [illegible]
comprehend the character of [illegible]
understand the homage paid by [illegible]
to his memory.

Need it be said that John [illegible]
justice, honor and gratitude, [illegible]
of the age, but by their [illegible]

ized truth, and traced it always to its source, the bosom of God. Thus in his defence of the Amistad captives he began with defining justice in the language of Justinian, "Constans et perpetua voluntas jus SUUM cuique tribuendi." He quoted on the same occasion from the Declaration of Independence, not by way of rhetorical embellishment, and not even as a valid human ordinance, but as a truth of nature, of universal application, the memorable words, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." In his vindication of the right of debate, he declared that the principle that religious opinions were altogether beyond the sphere of legislative control, was but one modification of a more extensive axiom, which included the unbounded freedom of the press, and of speech, and of the communication of thought in all its forms. He rested the inviolability of the right of petition, not on constitutions, or charters, which might be glossed, abrogated or expunged, but in the inherent right of every sentient creature to pray to its superiors [illegible]

delight and guide of intellect [illegible]
ceeding age. Like the Romans [illegible]
but he did not fall into the [illegible]
tically valuing eloquence [illegible]
which it should be devoted. [illegible]
man and magistrate worthy [illegible]
founder of the Republic," [illegible]
tic philosophy, of morals, and [illegible]
art; and like him he made all [illegible]
to that noble art, while poetry [illegible]
companion of his genius in its [illegible]
the labors of the forum and of [illegible]

Like him he loved only the [illegible]
by his generous praise of such [illegible]
beautiful aphorism, that no one [illegible]
deeds, who has confidence in [illegible]
Cicero he kept himself untainted by [illegible]
vices; preserved serenity and [illegible]
habitual reverence for the Deity [illegible]
not on the mystic theology of [illegible]
hopes of a better life. He [illegible]
garded as the virtuous age of [illegible]
was surrounded by an overwhelming [illegible]
had the light of Christianity [illegible]
lime motives as inducements [illegible]
had only the confused [illegible]
schools, and saw nothing [illegible]
present applause and [illegible]
therefore, he confined his [illegible]

But Cato was a visionary, who insisted upon his right to act always without reference to the condition of mankind, as he should have acted in Plato's imaginary Republic. Adams stood in this respect midway between the impracticable stoic and the too flexible academician. He had no occasion to say, as the Grecian orator did, that if he had sometimes acted contrary to himself, he had never acted contrary to the Republic; but he might justly have said, as the noble Roman did, "I have rendered to my country all the great services which she was willing to receive at my hands, and I have never harbored a thought concerning her that was not divine."

More fortunate than Cicero, who fell a victim of civil wars which he could not avert, Adams was permitted to linger on the earth, until the generations of that future age, for whom he had lived and to whom he had appealed from the condemnation of contemporaries, came up before the curtain which had shut out his sight, and pronounced over him, as he was sinking into the grave, their judgment of approval and benediction.

The distinguished characteristics of this life were [illegible]

which eluded the [illegible]
parties, rewarded friends [illegible]
he filled a longer period of [illegible]
service than ever fell to the lot of [illegible]
In every stage of this progress he [illegible]
was content to be president, [illegible]
or citizen.

Stricken in the midst of this [illegible]
of rising to debate, he fell into [illegible]
fathers of the Republic. A long [illegible]
and oppressed his senses. Nature [illegible]
powers, on the verge of the [illegible]
period. But it was long enough [illegible]
kindled eye showed that the [illegible]
clear, calm, and vigorous. His [illegible]
sorrowing compeers were [illegible]
scene and knew at once its [illegible]
no duty unperformed; he had [illegible]
ambition unattained; no regret [illegible]
remorse. He could not shake off [illegible]
that gathered on his brow. He [illegible]
thick shades that rose up before [illegible]
that eternity lay close by the [illegible]
that his Redeemer lived. [illegible]
hour, inspired him with his [illegible]
ance. "THE," said the dying [illegible]
END OF EARTH." He paused [illegible]
added, "I AM CONTENT." [illegible]
the curtains of the [illegible]

scene—a scene that approximated even to that scene of unapproachable sublimity, not to be recalled without reverence, when, in mortal agony, ONE who spake as never man spake, said, "IT IS FINISHED!"

Only two years after the birth of John Quincy Adams, there appeared on an island in the Mediterranean sea, a human spirit newly born, endowed with equal genius, without the regulating qualities of justice and benevolence which Adams possessed in an eminent degree. A like career opened to both—born like Adams, a subject of a king—the child of more genial skies, like him, became in early life a patriot and a citizen of a new and great Republic. Like Adams he lent his service to the State in precocious youth, and in its hour of need, and won its confidence. But unlike Adams he could not wait the dull delays of slow and laborious, but sure advancement. He sought power by the hasty road that leads through fields of carnage, and he became, like Adams, a supreme magistrate, a Consul. But there were other Consuls. He was not content. He thrust them aside, and was Consul alone. Consular power was too short. He sought new battles, and made Consul for life. [illegible] will, and [illegible] death. [illegible]

that made the [illegible]
to reign indefeasible. He [illegible]
saw around him a mother, [illegible]
nobled; whose humble [illegible]
world, that he was born a [illegible]
to wait impatient for the imperial [illegible]
the earth again, and again fortune [illegible]
in his wild extravagance. He [illegible]
principalities upon his kindred—[illegible]
wife of his youthful days, and [illegible]
Hapsburgh's imperial house, [illegible]
proud alliance. Offspring [illegible]
a diadem was placed on its infant [illegible]
the homage of princes, even in [illegible]
was indeed a monarch—a legitimate [illegible]
arch by divine appointment—the [illegible]
succession of monarchs. But [illegible]
archs who held sway in the [illegible]
tent. He would reign with [illegible]
gathered new and greater [illegible]
—from subjugated lands. He [illegible]
and brave—one from every [illegible]
rences to Zuyder Zee—from [illegible]
marshalled them into long [illegible]
went forth to seize that [illegible]
seemed almost within his [illegible]
tempted fortune too far. The [illegible]
sisted, repelled, [illegible]
gent warfare. The [illegible]

uous head. The wife who had wedded him in his pride, forsook him when the hour of fear came upon him. His child was ravished from his sight. His kinsmen were degraded to their first estate, and he was no longer Emperor, nor Consul, nor General, nor even a citizen, but an exile and a prisoner, on a lonely island, in the midst of the wild Atlantic. Discontent attended him there. The wayward man fretted out a few long years of his yet unbroken manhood, looking off at the earliest dawn and in evening's latest twilight, towards that distant world that had only just eluded his grasp. His heart corroded. Death came, not unlooked for, though it came even then unwelcome. He was stretched on his bed within the fort which constituted his prison. A few fast and faithful friends stood around, with the guards who rejoiced that the hour of relief from long and wearisome watching was at hand. As his strength wasted away, delirium stirred up the brain from its long and inglorious inactivity. The pageant of ambition returned. He was again a Lieutenant, a General, a Consul, an Emperor of France. He filled again the throne of Charlemagne. His kindred pressed around him again, re-invested with the pompous pageantry of royalty. The daughter of the long line of kings again stood proudly by his side, and the sunny face of his child shone out from beneath the [illegible] that [illegible] its flowing locks. The [illegible] of the Emp[illegible] the [illegible] guard [illegible]

nated, and their ranks, [illegible]
ished, Russia, Prussia, Austria, [illegible]
gathered their mighty hosts [illegible] Once
more he mounted his impatient [illegible] and
forth to conquest. He waved his [illegible] and
cried "Tête d'Armée." The [illegible]
the mockery was ended. The [illegible]
and the warrior fell back upon his bed [illegible]
This was the end of earth. [illegible]
content.

Statesmen and citizens! the [illegible]
own impressive moral.

[redacted]